

COLLECTANEA ANTIQUA;
NOTICES OF ANCIENT REMAINS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

HABITS, CUSTOMS, AND HISTORY
OF PAST AGES.

BY

CHARLES ROACH SMITH, HON.M.R.S.L.,

Hon. Member Num. Soc., Lon., etc.;

AUTHOR OF "ILLUSTRATIONS OF ROMAN LONDON"; "ANTIQUITIES OF RICHBOROUGH,
RECVLVER, AND LYMNE"; "REMARKS ON SHAKESPEARE, HIS BIRTHPLACE, ETC.";

"THE RURAL LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE AS ILLUSTRATED BY HIS WORKS";

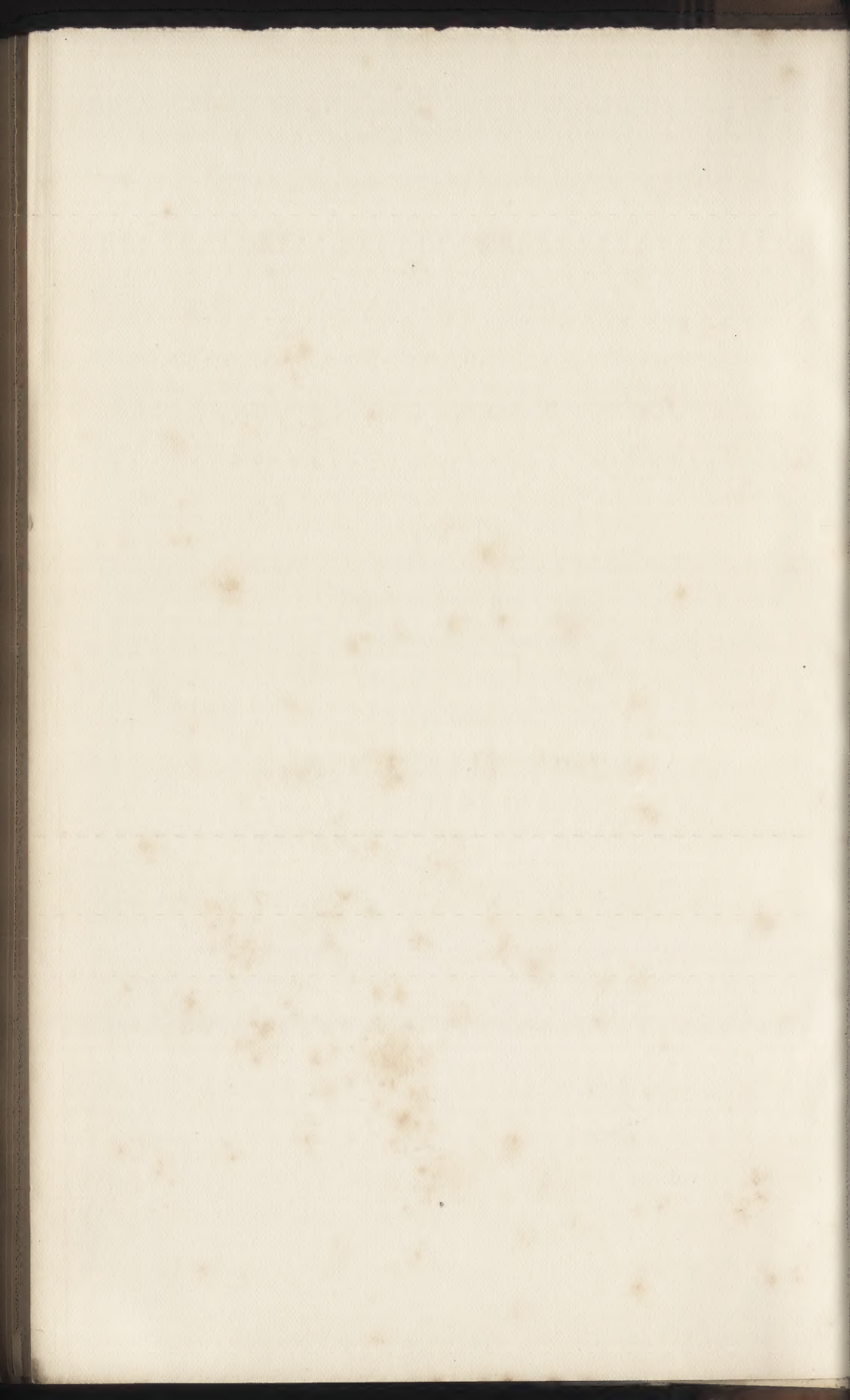
"ON THE SCARCITY OF HOME-GROWN FRUITS, WITH REMEDIAL
SUGGESTIONS"; ETC.

VOL. VII.

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M.DCCC.LXXVIII TO M.DCCC.LXXX.

TO
CHARLES WARNE, Esq., F.S.A.,
AUTHOR OF
"ANCIENT DORSET", ETC.,
THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED
IN MEMORY OF
LONG AND DEEPLY-ROOTED ESTEEM
BY HIS COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND,
C. ROACH SMITH.



P R E F A C E.

WERE it possible, whoever attempts to describe monumental or architectural remains, in foreign countries, or antiquities in museums, should have the assistance of a good artist; else, unless he has plenty of time, either his observations will not be so copious, or his sketches not so complete: he cannot satisfactorily do both. He should be left free to make notes, with, probably, a few details; and, certainly, give inscriptions, unless they are obviously clear and indisputable. In my visits to Champlieu and Mont Berny, and, indeed to other localities in France, I much felt the want of artistic aid. On all sides I found a profusion of remarkable objects, very many unpublished, but which I was compelled to leave so.

Mr. Robert Blair has recently given me an example of Fig. 3 in the plate of Roman leaden seals found at South Shields. It proves that the lithographic process is not always desirable where extreme decision of outline and truthfulness are required. The seal Mr. Blair has kindly given me has well cut heads of Severus and his sons, the central showing the head of Severus as sharp and clear as his coins.

The photographs from which Plates xxiii and xxiv have been prepared do not convey some details of these two remarkable and highly interesting monuments, and I could not make it convenient to visit the north to examine and sketch. If at a future time I shall be able to reprint, with additions, the entire series to which they belong, the details I allude to shall be supplied in enlarged views. It is still to be regretted that, while there are so many Societies in Great Britain, we are almost entirely ignorant of the proceedings of those of other countries, the archaeology of which, in so many ways, bears upon and is connected with our own, as is instanced in this volume. Mr. Parker has brought to our firesides the wonders of ancient Rome; Dr. Birch has unveiled Egypt; and Mr. Newton is continually supplying us with fresh information on classic Greek art; but the antiquities of Spain, of Africa, and even of Germany and France, are almost unknown to us. Denmark must be excepted, and Belgium also, for the Antiquaries of the North, and the Royal Commissions of Art and Archaeology of Belgium are active and communicative. With a few honourable exceptions,* the Honorary Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries wear their title in silence; and foreign correspondents of other Societies, likewise, seldom or never correspond. In the lists, names of deceased members often remain for years; and it is so with foreign bodies and their allies. One exception, but

* Correspondents chiefly, if not wholly, of Mr. W. M. Wylie, F.S.A.

in an opposite and inverse direction, may be cited as showing equal apathy. It happens to be very personal. I had the honour of being a member of the *Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, and I never ceased to correspond. I therefore read twice, to make sure I read correctly, the following announcement by M. Rondeau, the president : *M. le Président exprime, au nom de la Société, les regrets que lui inspire la mort de deux de ses membres : M. Roach Smith, l'un des correspondants d'Angleterre, et, plus près de nous, M. l'abbé Deschâtelliers, curé de Notre-Dame**. At the same meeting was presented from me a part of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, and the society has since received contributions under my sign manual.

The discoveries made at Procolitia by the zeal and perseverance of Mr. Clayton, which he has so generously enabled me to illustrate, form a prominent feature in this volume. His continued researches along the line of the great wall of Hadrian, especially at Cilurnum ; the contributions made by Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Johnstone, of Carlisle ; and by Mr. Blair, of South Shields, will probably tend to induce Dr. Bruce to publish a second edition of the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, the most important collection of Roman inscriptions and sculptures of the north of Britain ever published. The Rev. Dr. Hooppell will also furnish materials from the excavations at Binchester, made by Mr. Pound. These investigations have a direct

* *Bulletins*, 1879, p. 460.

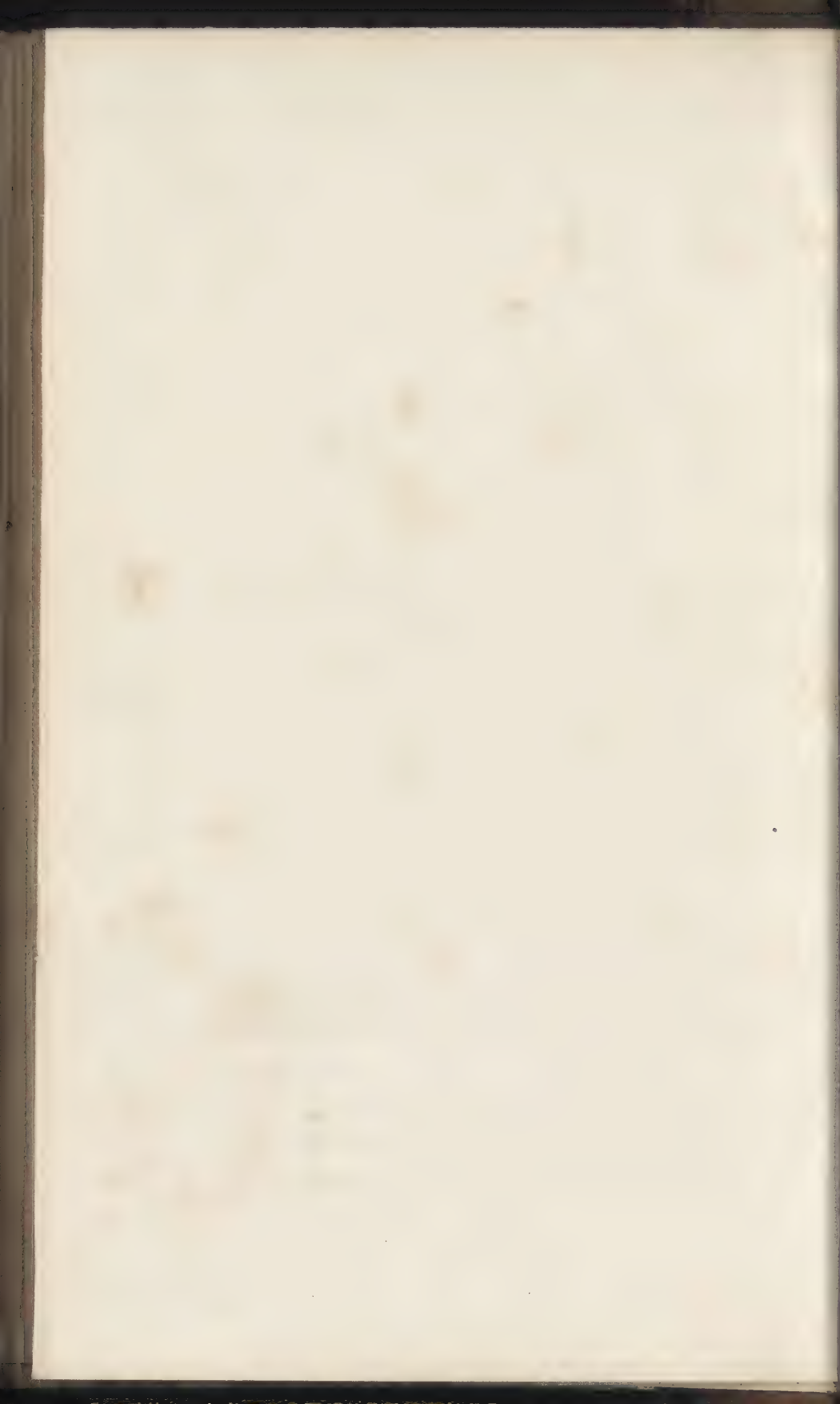
historical tendency of the very highest interest and importance. Yet in Lord Carnarvon's Address, delivered on the anniversary of the Society of Antiquaries, they are not mentioned. This would be nothing unusual were the Address like those of preceding years; but it is not so. His lordship boldly says that the Society "hardly occupies the position it is competent to fulfil, or does all the work it might and ought to do"; and he offers suggestions for an active future. Prehistoric monuments, in order of time, come first; but between these and a National *Codex Diplomaticus*, stand the first concern of the historian, the Romano-British monuments, which are not alluded to. This is, I believe, merely an oversight; for, with this exception, the Address must be welcomed by all of the Fellows who reflect on the purposes for which this Society was founded, and who wish for its welfare. Our church monuments, on which a few words are said in this volume, may also be recalled to Lord Carnarvon's attention; and the desirableness of making the library of the Society easily available to the Fellows who reside in the country.

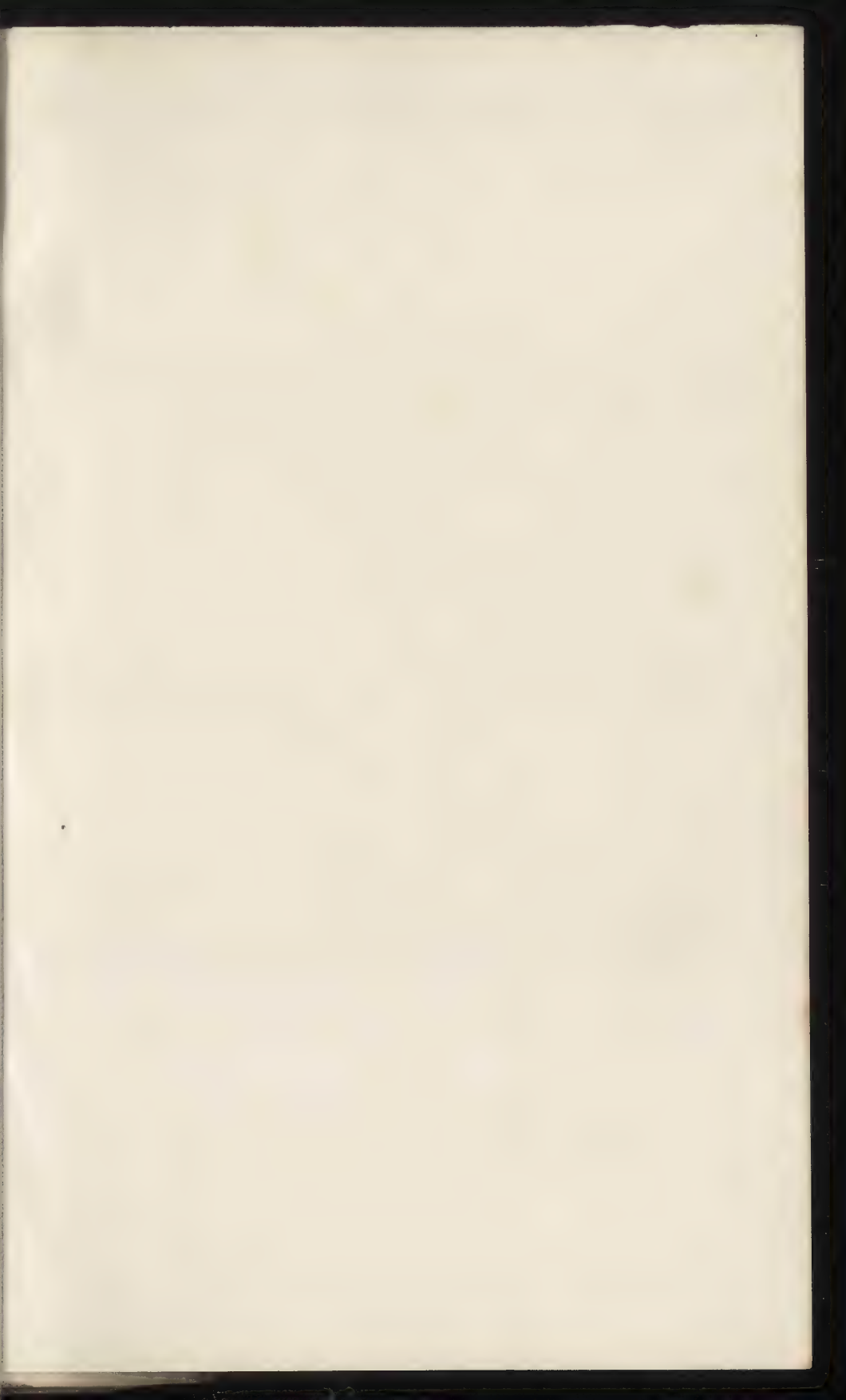
One of the rich tessellated pavements of the extensive Roman Villa at Woodchester, in Gloucestershire, sumptuously engraved and published by Lysons, is about to be uncovered on the occasion of a visit of the Gloucester and Bristol Archæological Society. The rector, the Rev. Frederick Smith, has resolved to keep it open for public inspection for a few days. It is lamentable to reflect that so many similar works have been allowed to perish, and that

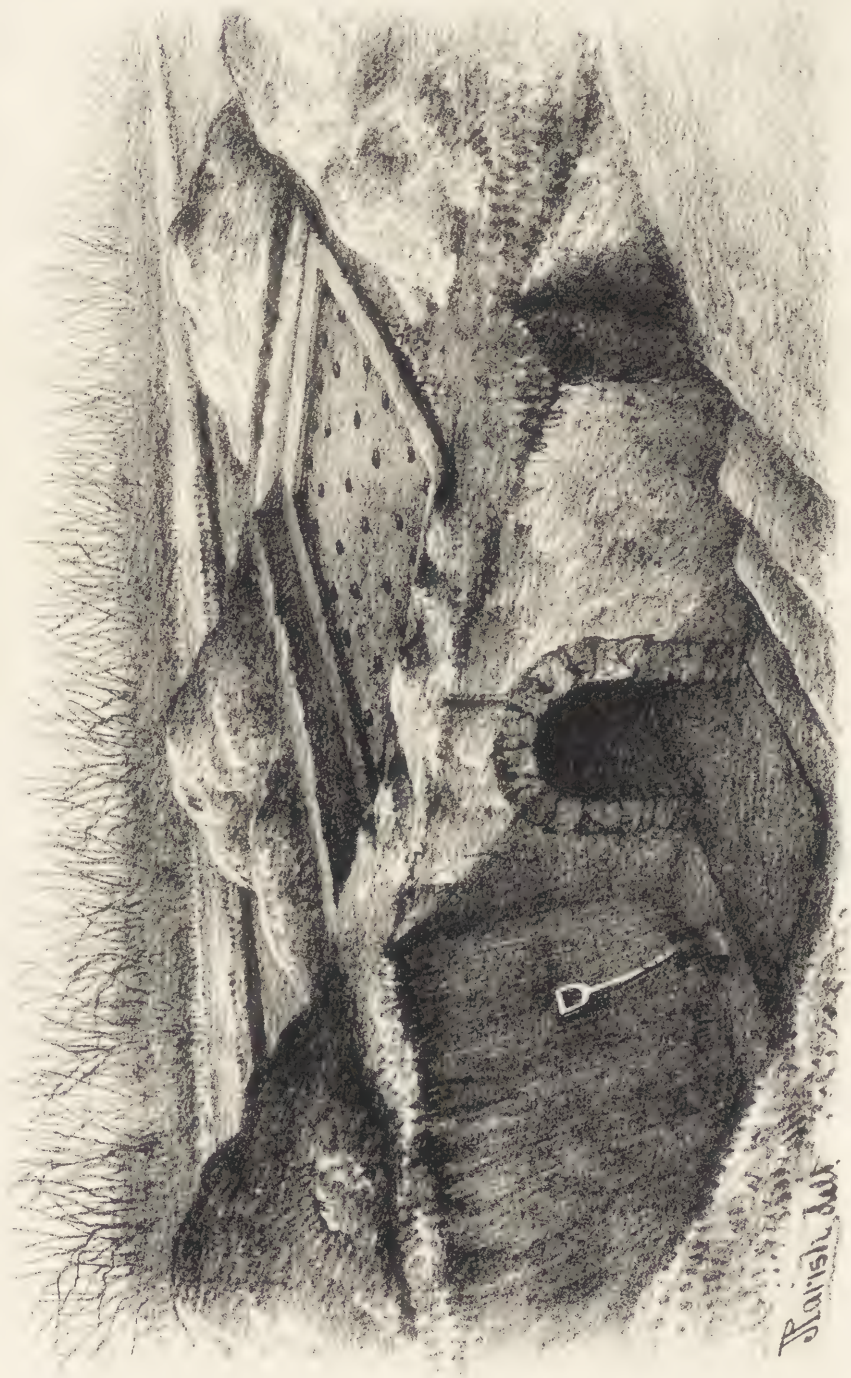
others are decaying for want of a fixed and certain provision for their security. In any scheme for the preservation of our national antiquities, the claims of these wonderful works of art should be among the very first to be recognised.

Altogether I hope that this, the seventh volume of a work which has now been the growth of many years, will not be considered inferior to its predecessors; and especially so as it has received such cheering encouragement from old and generous friends. Mr. Joseph Mayer, Mr. John Clayton, and Mr. Charles Warne have, as on former occasions, given substantial pecuniary help. Mr. Henry Dodd, Mr. John Harris, Dr. C. Moore Jessop, and Mr. Humphrey Wood, have quadrupled their subscriptions. Assistance received from other friends will be found recorded in the pages descriptive of the woodcuts and plates they have kindly contributed. Mr. John Green Waller, one of my earliest friends and colleagues, has cheerfully submitted to the trouble I have given him with plates and woodcuts; and he is only remunerated in the conviction that he helped on a work he has always taken an interest in.

I had intended extending the notices of departed friends to Mark Antony Lower, John Alfred Dunkin, Thomas Hugo, Thomas Faulkner, Miss Meteyard, and others; but, on reflection, I felt I could do them more justice in a separate work, which I am disposed to print should health and circumstances be favourable.







ROMAN POTTERS' KILNS DISCOVERED NEAR COLCHESTER.

THE Essex Archæological Society, at the suggestion of Mr. George Joslin, having offered me the use of plates prepared for the illustration in the Society's Journal of a paper by Mr. Joslin, I have modified the proposed arrangement of this, the seventh volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, in order that the numbers of the plates might not be disturbed. The subject, moreover, although it has been extensively discussed in previous volumes under the advantages afforded by recent discoveries, is not exhausted, nor rendered the less attractive from the attention it has received; while, in the present addition to the materials supplied, the *Collectanea Antiqua* has an especial interest; for in the second volume are recorded facts connected with a former discovery adjoining the site of that recently made, which have been overlooked by all who have hitherto written on the latter. This volume also contains illustrations of some of the vessels found in the Kiln in 1819; and of others discovered at Colchester (now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland), which may also claim a local parentage. And further yet; the sixth volume contains an illustrated account of the discovery in the very same locality of most remarkable *ficilia*, intimately connected with the subject of the potter's art; of the degree of excellence it had attained at Camulodunum

and in Britain generally; what varieties were of native workmanship; what were imported.

It has been said, and with great truth, that the coinage of a country is a barometer of its civilisation and intellectual as well as material power. The same may be said, with equal justice, of its pottery; and, no doubt, of every art, in a greater or lesser degree. But pottery affords a particularly ready and easy test. It is the produce of an early and universal art, as necessary to the peasant as to the prince in their daily wants and luxuries; it was ever before their eyes; ever at their fingers' ends. It must have been among man's earliest surroundings when he began to emerge from a savage into a civilised state; and thus we find it with him in remote prehistoric times. Infinite in its forms and character, in countries wide apart and in ages far separated, pottery is ever among the safest guides to the eye of the experienced antiquary, and often his only guide; it aids him in assigning other works of art to successive races or peoples who have occupied the same country; and it helps to detect them in their migrations. Based upon the sound principle of comparison, in no department of the science of antiquity is the student more confident and secure than in that which comprises the general history of pottery.

The earlier prehistoric barrow has an individuality and character in its earthen vessels or urns, distinct from those of later date approaching a more civilised time. There is a kind of family likeness in them, although of countries far apart. In the early days of civilisation the pottery of a country shows always very markedly whence its improvement derives its influence. Does a country cease to advance or to retrograde? The pottery keeps equal pace and reflects its condition, moral and physical. To give an example from what is at this moment before us, take the

elegant forms of the Colchester vessels selected in vols. ii and vi, and place beside them the Saxon and Frankish and the products of the middle ages which for so many centuries contented the eyes and tables of our ancestors ; and see how they all reflect the character, the taste, the thought, and sentiment of the respective makers, and of their times. We may also select another instance in a very different direction, and examine the pottery in the interesting collection of works of ancient art excavated by Dr. Schliemann, and now under exhibition in the Museum of South Kensington. Their remote antiquity is not disputed ; but they are probably much older than many imagine. Compare the pottery with the wide range of that of Greek and Etruscan art, glancing through the Catalogue of vases in the British Museum, explained by Dr. Birch and Mr. Newton ;* and it will be obvious that it is difficult to measure the wide difference between the two ; the Greek and Etruscan showing the highest refinement in taste and art, with an elaborated system of mythology, the growth of ages ; the other, a comparative infancy of art, rude and barbarous, the work of an unlettered and semi-civilised people. Who can compute the length of time it would take to advance art from the uncouth forms and the lowest germs of ornamentation of the one, to the grace, perfection, and we may say, learning displayed in the other ? Other works of art in this collection prove the same vast distance of time which must separate the two ; but the pottery affords, perhaps, the strongest and most palpable test.

Mr. Joslin reports as follows :—

“In consequence of some extra deep ploughing in a field on the north of the Lexden Road, near the River Colne, my attention was drawn to a large quantity of black earth

* London, W. Nicol, 2 vols., 1851.

and fragments of Roman pottery. Having obtained permission from the owner, P. O. Papillon, Esq., I made some excavations, and have come upon five Roman potters' kilns, all of different forms, plans of which are given in plates Nos. i, ii, iii.

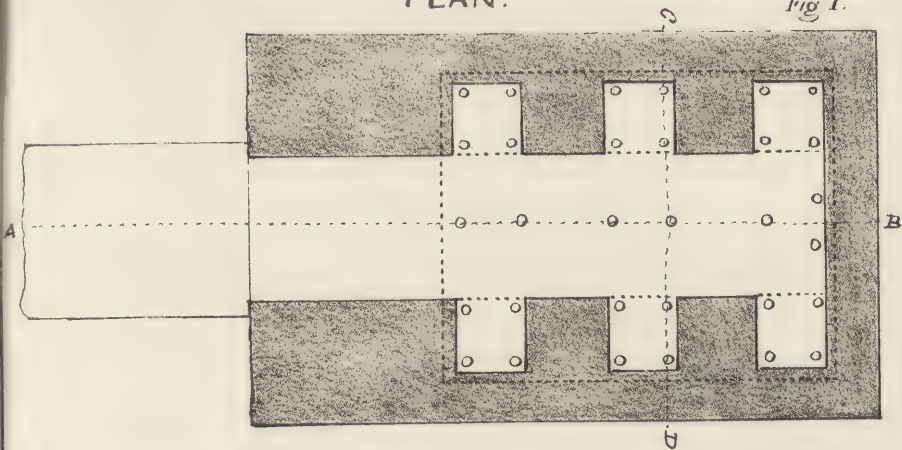
"Plate i, is a general view of kiln No. 1, which appears to differ in form and arrangement from any previously found.

"Plate ii, fig. 1, is a ground plan of the furnace, which is in very perfect condition. Fig. 2 shows the section on the line *a b* of three arched recesses on each side, with four holes in each, two inches in diameter, communicating with the floor of the kiln; a portion of the side wall remains on the floor (see dotted line fig. 1), upon which the various vessels of pottery were placed one upon the other to be baked, and then surrounded with clay or bricks, and covered with the same material, to be partly taken down each time the kiln was used. Fig. 3 is a cross section on the line *c d*, where the floor was fifteen inches below the surface of the ground. The side walls and top of the furnace are from nine to twelve inches thick, made of clay in the form of bricks of various sizes; the joints are also clay, in some places pieces of mortaria; pottery and roof tiles are built into it. The interior of the furnace is vitrified by the intense heat, forming it into one mass, so that it is difficult to distinguish the brick from the joint; the marks of fingers are seen in many places where the soft clay was used to smooth the interior. The furnace was probably three feet longer, as the bottom extends that distance to the east, portions of the top and sides having fallen in and obliterated the shape of the furnace-mouth. Large quantities of fragments of mortaria and pinched vessels were near the entrance.

"No. 2 kiln, plate iii, fig. 1. This is a disused one.

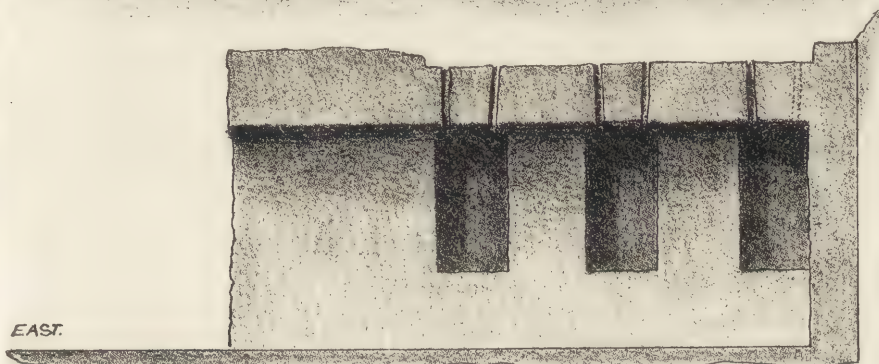
PLAN.

Fig. 1.



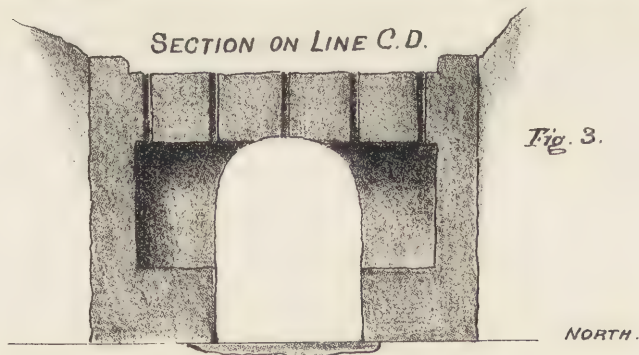
Present Ground-line.

SECTION ON LINE A.B. Fig. 2.



SECTION ON LINE C.D.

Fig. 3.



J. Parish. del.

12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 FEET.



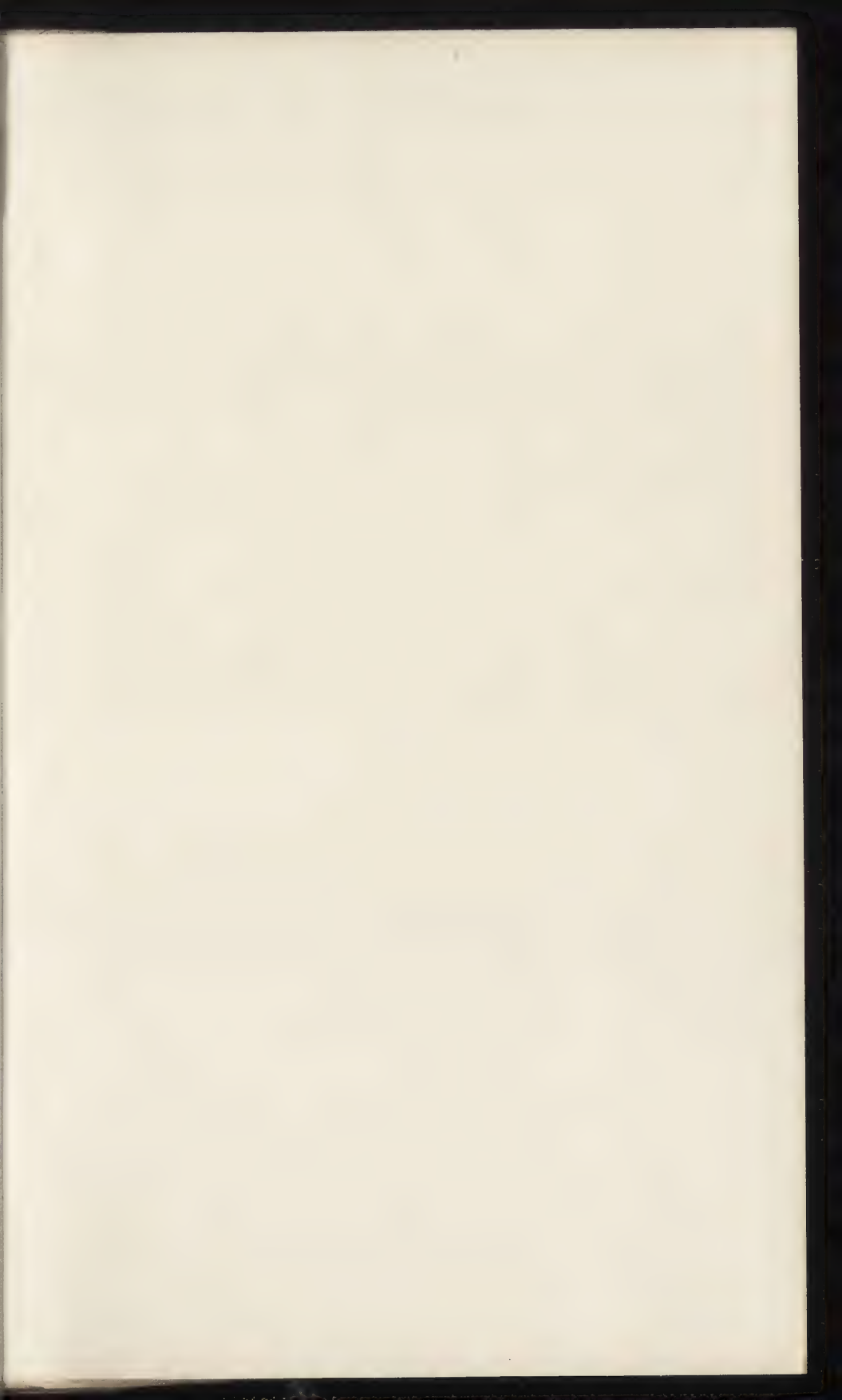


Fig. 1.

West.

PLANS.

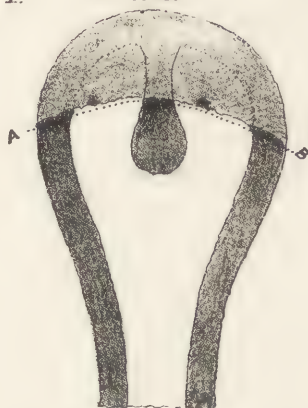
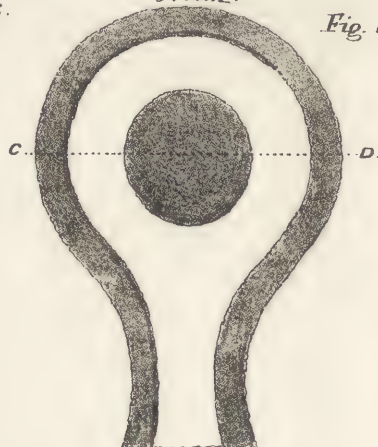


Fig. 2.

North.



SECTION ON LINE A.B.



SECTION ON LINE C.D.

Fig. 3.

PLAN.



North.

Fig. 4.

PLAN.



North.

J. Parish delt.

12' 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 FEET.

The furnace has one mouth opening to the east; it is three feet eight inches in diameter; and has a circular pier in the centre attached to the back to support the floor of the kiln, part of which is standing. The bottom of the furnace is five feet below the surface of the ground: it was filled with various fragments of pottery and wood ashes. No. 3 kiln, plate iii, fig. 2, very much resembles No. 2 in form; is four feet ten inches in diameter; has a pier two feet six inches in diameter in the centre of the furnace, made of fragments of pottery, tiles and clay, fifteen inches high, the furnace extending all round it. There is only one opening to the interior on the south side. No portion of the top of this furnace is left standing; this was also filled with fragments of pottery, etc. No. 4 kiln, plate iii, fig. 3, is circular in plan; four feet ten inches in diameter; has two openings or furnace-mouths on opposite sides, north and south; the floor is gone and there is no appearance of a centre pier; the bottom of the furnace is five feet from the surface of the ground, and the sides about three feet high.

"No. 5 kiln, plate iii, fig. 4, is much like No. 4 in shape and dimensions, with the exception of one entrance to the furnace, which increases in width outwardly (see south end); part of each arch remains over the furnace-mouths; the sides are two feet six inches high. There is a second clay bottom, nine inches above the lower one, which rests on the natural sand; the sides also are surrounded with sand. This, like No. 4, was filled with fragments of pottery and wood ashes.

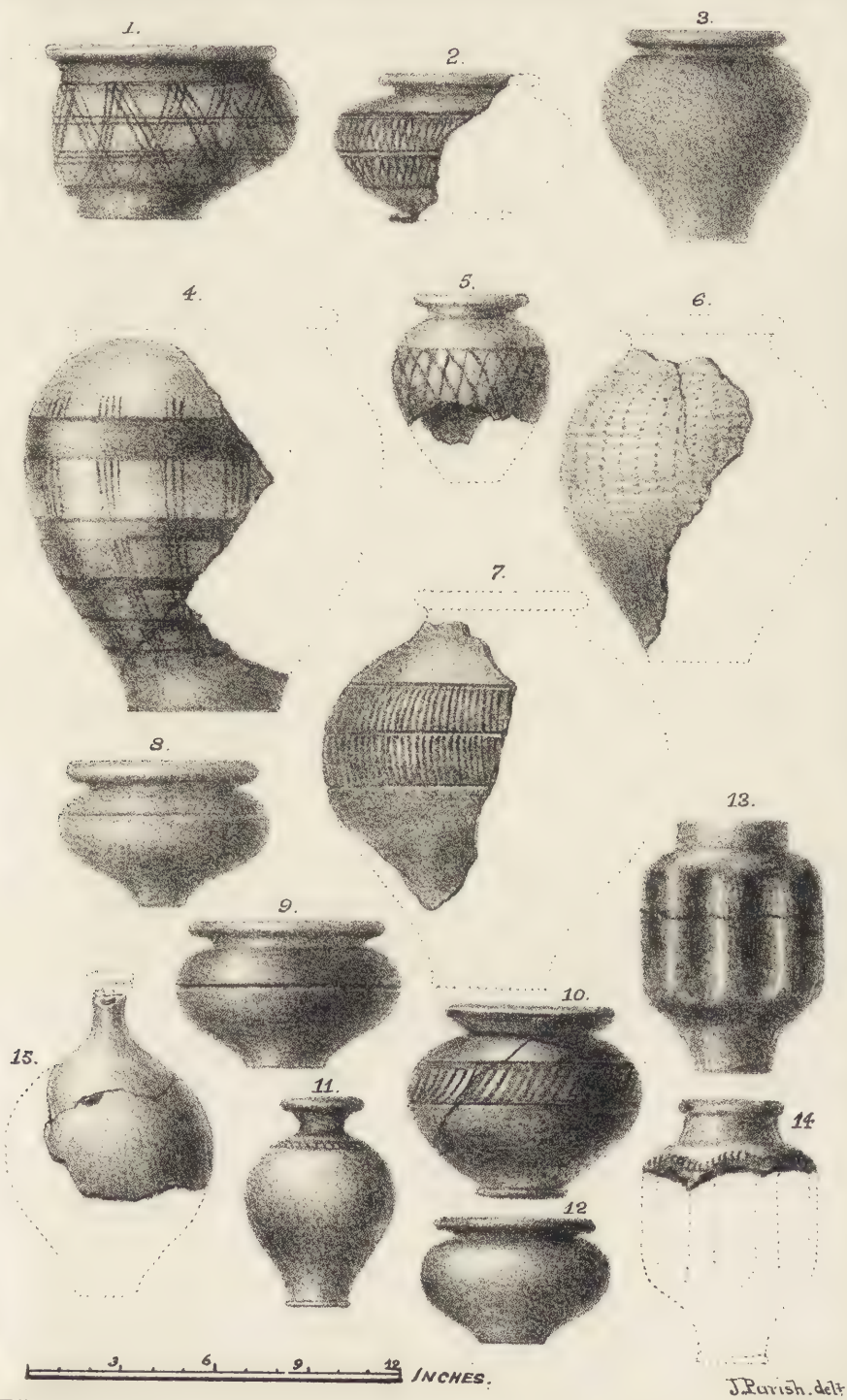
"In C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi, plate xxxvii, figs. 2, 3, is a description of two Roman pottery kilns, discovered by Mr. Artis, in 1844, at Castor, Northamptonshire, very much of the same form and dimensions as those figured on plate iii, figs. 1, 2; but those

found at Colchester appear to have been arched over the furnace instead of using the perforated tiles there represented.

"It has been a matter of speculation by many whether the large number of urns and other articles of Roman pottery found in Colchester was manufactured in this neighbourhood or at places far distant; but the discovery made within the last few weeks of five Roman potters' kilns in various stages of decay, and the numerous fragments found in and around them, places it beyond all doubt that many were made here, and most likely other kilns might be found if further search was made. From openings made near the kilns, both red and lightish-red clay were found three feet below the surface; most likely there is some white clay near, as a large manufactory of white bricks is about four miles distant. In the same field as the kilns, nearer the river, is a very strong spring rising from the gravel, which would be used for the pottery instead of the brackish water from the river. The site of the kilns does not occupy more than a quarter of an acre.

"In removing the soil to expose the kilns, several barrow-loads of pottery fragments of various sorts and shapes were found and are illustrated in plates Nos. iv, v, vi.

"Plate iv, fig. 3, a brown-black cinerary urn, six inches in diameter, made of red clay near at hand, most likely darkened with the wood-ashes from the furnace, roughly burnished on the exterior, with the mark on the bottom as left by the wire or string with which it was cut off the wheel; many fragments of similar urns were found which must have been more than twelve inches in diameter. The better classes of black ware, both in form and finish, were reversed upon the wheel or lathe, and the bottoms finished equal to the sides and tops. Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, have



POTTERY FOUND AT THE ROMAN POTTERY KILNS, DISCOVERED AT COLCHESTER,
MARCH, 1877.







3 6 9 12 INCHES.

J. Parish. Del.

POTTERY FOUND AT THE ROMAN POTTERY KILNS, DISCOVERED AT COLCHESTER,
MARCH, 1877.

bands of various widths burnished or smoothed round them, and the spaces between the bands ornamented with burnished lines of various designs; others, as figs. 8 and 9, are partly burnished, and a single deep line round them; fig. 12 is quite plain, and burnished all over.

"Figs. 6, 7, 10, 11, whilst upon the wheel, had bands impressed upon them by a small hand-wheel five-eighths of an inch in diameter, having a design upon it, the pattern repeating about every two inches. (See also fragments, plate vi, figs. 5, 10, 11.) Figs. 13, 14, were indented or pinched into the form shewn, usually with seven indents; some were brown on the exterior, whilst the clay was red upon fracture; others black; some red inside and outside; most shewed a different colour at the bottom, as plate v, fig. 11, where they were placed one in the top of the other in the kiln. There was a large quantity of these fragments, and the greater portion was much out of form from overheating. Plate v, figs. 1, 2, are of very fine red clay, and neatly made. Figs. 3, 14, 16, are also made of red clay, but the surface is covered with a kind of gilt or bronze. Part of a large urn, the shape of plate iv, fig. 3, is also covered with the same material. Plate v, figs. 7, 8 (and plate vi, figs. 6, 7), are pans made of very fine black clay, very smooth on the surface; the forms seem to be copied from Samian, which vessels they much resemble; fig. 7 has a name, not legible, stamped upon the bottom inside; many fragments of Samian ware, of the same patterns, were found with the others. Sides and bottoms of black pans, some very large, with upright sides, and marked outside, as urn, plate iv, fig. 5; others with very flat sides and large diameter, with a wavy line around them. Plate v, fig. 6, is made of very light clay, of graceful form, beautifully finished, and is nearly whole. Fig. 12 is the top and one handle of a very large amphora; fig. 13 is the top

of a very large ampulla; both of which are of light earth; several small tops and bottoms were found. Fig. 10 is another white handle. Fig. 15, the top of a bottle, with the mouth pinched across: it has also a part of the handle on; fragments of urns, with contracted tops, as fig. 9, of various sizes. Plate vi, fig. 2, fragments of mortaria, in large quantities, from eight to twenty-seven inches in diameter; some are smooth on the inside; others are roughened with small, broken stones; the rims are of various forms; no maker's name upon them; most of these are made of light clay, and many of the pieces are not sufficiently burned. Fig. 9, a small fragment of light red clay, with the pattern put on slip. Figs. 12, 13, 14, are small fragments of a very large pan, which must have been eight feet in diameter, made of red clay; some inscription with two-inch raised letters of light clay upon the top edge. Fig. 14 is a side view, showing an overflow or lip; from the form of the pieces, the pan was not very deep. Fig. 3, a handsome bronze fibula found near the mouth of kiln, No. 1. Fig. 4 is made of bronze, four inches long, in section as fig. 4*a*, perhaps used for ornamenting the pottery. A middle brass coin of Claudius, *rev.* Pallas, S. C., without inscription, also a middle brass of Vespasian, *rev.* an eagle on a globe, were found near the kilns among the fragments. Many other pieces of pottery of various forms not given in the plates were found. I have, during the last ten years, collected Roman pottery, and have in my museum perfect urns exactly like several of those described.

"It is the intention of the proprietor of the land upon which the kilns are situated, P. O. Papillon, Esq., to erect a building over No. 1, to preserve it from the weather. Some of the fragments of pottery are in the Colchester Museum, where they can be inspected. Arrangements



J. Parish. del.

BRONZE FIBULA, AND FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY FOUND AT THE ROMAN POTTERY
KILNS, DISCOVERED AT COLCHESTER, MARCH, 1877.



can also be made there, by anyone interested, to view the kiln.

"It appears, from the foregoing remarks and the discoveries at the kilns, that the specialities manufactured here were mortaria; pinched cups, red and brown; ampullæ, and black urns and pans. "G. J."

Mr. Joslin's explicit account of the kilns needs no special remark. It is an important addition to the information already collected in this department of archaeological research. The kiln on the left side of the road from Colchester to Lexden (see *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 37), is additional evidence of the extent of the district occupied by potters on the line of the main road to Londinium; and we have now before us a large accession to the types given by Mr. Hay, of the products of these kilns. The Museum of Colchester, and plates xiii and xiv, vol. ii, will convey some idea of the variety and peculiarities of the ware manufactured in these and other kilns, as may well be supposed, in the vicinity of the town. They are readily to be distinguished from the imported kinds.

Mr. Joslin has pointed out in plates v and vi fragments of vessels in fine black ware, which, he correctly observes, seem to be copied from the so-called Samian. In vol. ii, p. 35, will be found some perfect examples of figs. 7 and 8 in plate v, discovered at Mount Bures, near Colchester; and, without much doubt, made in these very kilns. In these imitations the provincial potters succeeded in the form only; they could not imitate the red colour and glaze. They even attempted to imitate the practice of the foreign potters in stamping their names; and, as I have pointed out, actually succeeded in rendering intelligible the names MOMI.M.—IVLIOS.—and ANDORN. The first of these occurs upon the red ware; but the second, in the

form of Julios instead of Julius, and the third are new, and may be accepted as names of Camulodunum potters. To these examples Mr. Irvine has placed in my hands one found at Bath, stamped across the centre of a light yellow or straw-coloured vessel with a recurved lip, such as is well known in the red lustrous ware, which appears to read NIMIA; but the central letter is indistinct, and the name altogether a copy by an inexperienced workman. There is another example in the Charles Museum at Maidstone, which was discovered, with Samian pottery, upon Westwell Downs; and further specimens are in the collection of Mr. W. Walter, of Rainham, from the neighbourhood of that village.

The fragments, figs. 12, 13, 14, plate vi, belonging to a shallow pan eight feet in diameter, indicate a vessel of a kind to which we have hitherto discovered, so far as I know, nothing analogous: it was probably intended for the purpose of evaporation.

In addition to the list of potters' kilns discovered in this country, which is given in the sixth volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, may be noticed one discovered in the parish of Weybourne, Norfolk, of which an account will be found in the fifth volume of *Norfolk Archaeology*, published by the Norfolk Archaeological Society; and Mr. Ll. Jewitt's well illustrated paper on "Roman Remains found at Hedington, near Oxford", in the sixth volume of the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, shows an immense quantity of pottery there discovered. From the peculiar evidence disclosed, there can be no doubt that much of it was manufactured upon the spot. Mr. Jewitt states that two kilns were discovered in the neighbourhood, at Shotover, and at Fencot, on Otmoor; but they unfortunately shared the common fate of similar discoveries. Mr. Jewitt's paper is a model for details and

illustrations, so essential for the perfect understanding of such subjects.

Dr. Kendrick has discovered at Wilderspool, near Warrington, among large quantities of pottery of many varieties, several superior in form and body, which are evidently copies of the so-called Samian. One fragment, on the outside of its upper rim, has the letters PAT well formed, and in every respect resembling the Romano-Gaulish stamps on the red ware. Another, of the type fig. 6, plate vi, of the Colchester kilns, has upon the external overlapping rim the ivy leaves so peculiar to the red ware: it is of a dull stone-colour body, with a fine shining dark glaze. There are also two examples of the small *ampulla* shaped vessels with a tubular spout on the side, used probably for suckling infants; and with this conviction the French archæologists call them *tettines*. They are not uncommon in the red glazed ware, from which those of Wilderspool are, doubtless, copied.

Dr. Kendrick has published the result of his interesting discoveries in an illustrated pamphlet entitled *A Guide Book to the Collection of Roman Remains from Wilderspool, near Warrington*, Warrington, 1872.

DISCOVERY OF POTTERS' KILNS IN FRANCE.

MONTANS.—Following soon after M. Tudot's remarkable discoveries in the department of the Allier (see *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi), are others equally interesting, made at Montans, near Gaillac, in the department of Tarn, in the south of France. A report by M. Rossignol is printed in the *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 25; but it is not, like M. Tudot's, illustrated. From the description, however, it is evident that the kilns and their products were very similar to those of the Allier. The list of makers' names, it will be perceived, contains some common to those of the Allier, and of London; and some not to be found in either, and apparently not recorded in other lists. They are as follows:—

ACVTI	CAPANI	FLORI
ALBANI	CCO	FORTIS
ALBIN	CELER.FEC	GALLVS
AMANDI	COSI	ILEME
AMPIO	CONTOVCA F	I.EPP.I
ANDOCAM	C.REI	IVCVN
AO	CRESLM	IVCVNDV
ATTILLI	CRISPVS	I.VC.V
BO	DONCATI	IVLLI
BOLVS	DONICATI	IVLLVS
CAESAR	FAM.F	LCRE
CAIVS	FELICIO	LIBERALI

L.SCRE	POST	SED
MACIR	PRONTV	SEDATI
MACIO	QVIN	SEVERI
MALGIO	QVINT	SVCCCESSI
M ^o N	REBVRI	S.IVL.P
NEPOTIS	RVFIM	TETIO
NOM	RVFVS	VALERI
NOMI	SABI	VERCES
NIKI	SALVE M	VERECV
OVINI	SALVE	VICARI
PARATVS.F	SCIPIV	OF.VLATI
PRIMVS		

On lamps:

FORTIS.—COSSVS.—

MVNTRESF.—C.OPPI.KES

One each of the first two; several of the two latter.

Arles.—In the immediate neighbourhood of Arles, M. Huart states* that remains of vast establishments of potters have been discovered, with masses of red and grey clay evidently destined for use. Here, it appears, was also manufactured the pseudo-Samian ware; and M. Huart supplies a list of names which will be useful for comparison with those collected in other districts. It will be seen that it contains some which apparently are restricted to Arles, as they are not in the collections hitherto published:—

FPVDENT	DAMMONO	COSIVS.VRAN
MONTANVS 4 expls.	SILVAN 4 expls.	FELICEN.TE. 3 expls.
OF.CAST 5 „	SILVANI	ALLICANI.MA
CASTI 6 „	OF.SILVANI	OF CHA.
OF AQVITA	OF.SILVNTRI

* *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 41, p. 600. *Id.*, vol. 42, p. 525.

14 DISCOVERY OF POTTERS' KILNS IN FRANCE.

OF.PATPA (PATRA. ?)	OF.MA.	MARTIAL.FECIT
SHEBI	RESTIO	OF.MI.VGE.
MEMORISM		

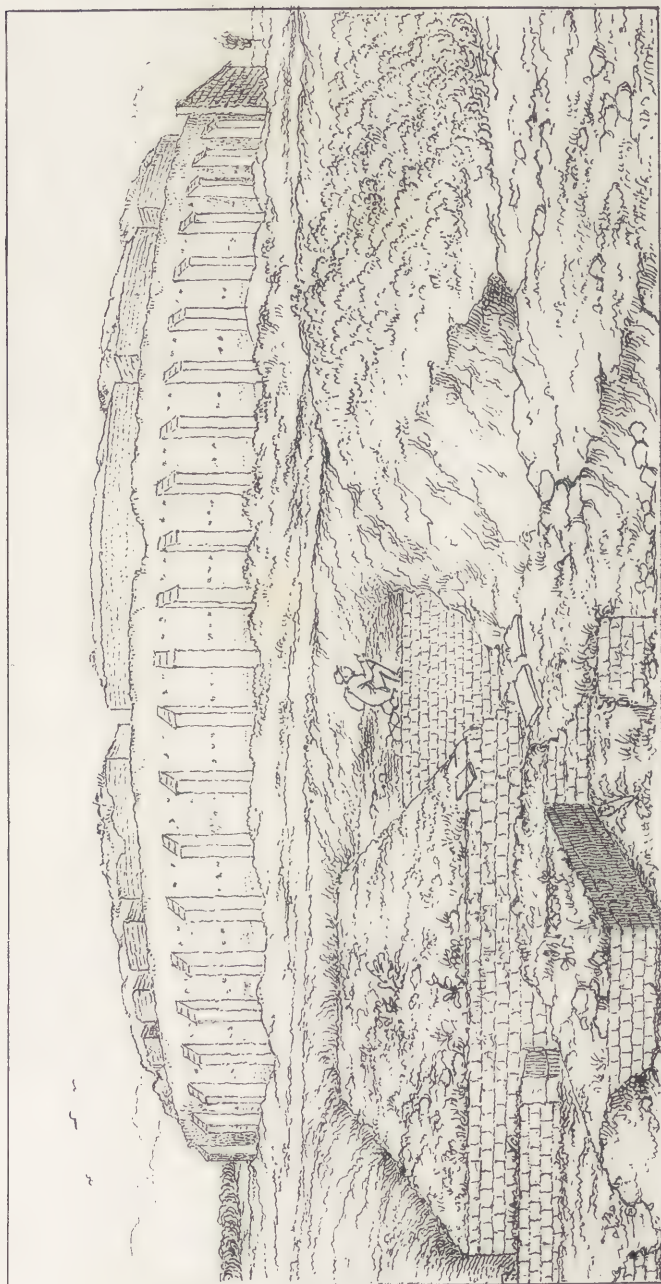
Upon a fine yellow body streaked with red :

SILVAN.—CELEROS.—FELICEN.TE.—OF.VITALI (VITALI ?)

At Cahors (Lot) a kiln for the baking of tiles has been found. Two varieties of tiles were found in it. It is to be hoped that the intention to preserve this kiln in a museum under preparation for the town, will be realised.

Other lists of potters' names will be given in this volume.





Whitcomb & Bliss, Photo. Incho

NOTES ON SOME OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF FRANCE.

SUGGESTED BY RECENT EXCURSIONS.

PLATES VII TO XIII.

IN the preceding volumes of the *Collectanea Antiqua* I have drawn attention to some of the ancient remains in France which I had personally visited and examined. Boulogne and Etaples furnished matter for the opening of the first volume. In the third, Lillebonne, Vieux, and Jublains were somewhat largely drawn upon and illustrated. Thesée, Larçay, the Pile Cinq Mars, Saumur, and Doué, with other districts, introduced much of interest and something of novelty to the fourth. In the fifth, Arles, Orange, Fréjus, Bordeaux, Sens, Autun, Cussy, and Dax, occupied considerable space; and the sixth and last included notes on the castrum near Vienne, the aqueduct at Lyon, and the Arch of Orange; together with some account of Champlieu and Mont Berny. To these last two places I return, not in confidence of giving any adequate or satisfactory description of their remarkable remains, but in perseverance of efforts to induce my friends and colleagues at home and in France to co-operate in the mutual study of the antiquities of their native countries; for although archæology has now spread far awide, yet the results of researches in England remain almost unknown in France; while discoveries of moment made continually through-

out France are almost confined to that country ; and as regards Great Britain, are allowed to remain unrecognised and profitless.

M. Peigné-Delacourt, of Ribécourt, made me acquainted with Champlieu and its marvellous revelations. I published the result of a personal visit in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1867 ; and, as I have just stated, in the last volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*. To M. Albert de Roucy and to the Comte de Marsy I am indebted for additional information.

Champlieu.—In the middle of the last century the Abbé Carlier, author of a history of Valois, gave a circumstantial account of the district of Champlieu and of the remains now excavated, so far as he was enabled to do in the absence of those necessary helps which in such cases are imperative towards truthful explanation. The Abbé was a conscientious man, and wrote in the proper spirit of observation and criticism ; yet, without reliable evidences, it is not surprising he erred in his conclusions respecting the ruins which were shrouded with the accumulated earth of ages. Large, irregular mounds, called the *Tournelles*, closely bordering a Roman road, and the name of the place, Champlieu, *campi locus*, seemed to indicate a military station : what is now shown to have been a theatre, and called *fer de cheval*, was specially called a camp ; and *Camp des Ouis*, the general site. On the south of what is now proved to be a theatre, the ruins are revealed to have belonged to what was a large and important building : those on the north, on the other side of the Roman road, are clearly the remains of a temple.

In the early explorations which led to practical and decisive results we find, as usual, the late M. de Caumont leading the way. He has been called the reviver of archæology in France ; the creator would be a title more

appropriate. M. de Seroux, of Bétizy-St.-Martin (a village about two miles distant), seems to have been the first who attempted excavations into the ruins of the temple. Discovering large quantities of sculptured stones, the Comte de Breda applied to M. de Caumont, Director of the Société Française d'Archéologie. The society at once, at the suggestion of M. de Caumont, deputed M. Thiollet to co-operate with the Comte de Breda and M. de Seroux, and granted 500 francs.* The foundations of the temple were soon laid open.

This building is a square of about 75 feet, surrounded by a channel in stone for carrying off the rain water. The entrance, on the east, was approached by four steps, about eleven feet in length, and a foot and a half wide, which indicate long use. Within is another wall, about 50 feet square. From the numerous fragments of columns richly ornamented; from the entablatures, friezes, cornices, and other architectural accessories, mostly elaborately worked, the temple must have presented a gorgeous appearance, especially as the columns, pilasters, and sculptures were coloured in red of various shades, pink, yellow, brown, and black.† The sculptures, mostly mythological subjects, include, Prometheus chained; Ceres holding Triptolemus over the fire; Leda and the Swan; Apollo, Mithras, Bacchantes, Cupids, Tritons, and fantastic animals.‡ The chief of these have been removed; but the ground when I visited Champlieu was yet covered with *débris* well worthy of study. This temple is attributed to Apollo; but upon what grounds I have not been able to ascertain. Unfor-

* *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xvi.

† Le Comte de Marsy has kindly sent me examples of these from coloured sketches made by M. Thiollet.

‡ Several of these are engraved in M. Peigné Delacourt's *Théâtre de Champlieu*, Noyon, 1858.

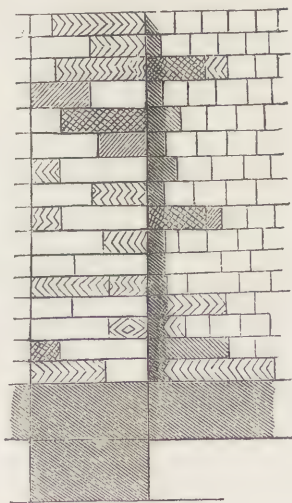
tunately no inscription has yet been discovered. It was furnished with a fountain, the large stone of which, of basin shape, with a bronze jet, I saw, by the courtesy of M. de Roucy, in the Emperor's private museum of local antiquities in the grounds of the palace at Compiègne.

The Theatre, a distant view of which, with indications of the large building on the south, is given in plate vii, was denuded of its thick coat of earth by order of the Emperor. The hemicycle suggested the name of *fer de cheval*; and when covered and surrounded with earth and ruins, was sufficiently spacious to be mistaken for a small camp. The walls, of which there are two, are well preserved, and are yet from ten to twenty feet high. Much of the internal portion has suffered from depredations made ages ago, probably to help build a Priory in the neighbourhood; but some rows of the seats have been discovered, and the sites of others; and the position and arrangements for the *orchestra* and *proscenium* are yet pretty perfect. In a shed close to the theatre are many implements and utensils in iron, quite worthy a better domicile. There are also a few fragments of sculptures, one being a well-executed female head of life-size, surmounted with the letters ROM., probably for *Roma*; and the head of a man with the letters ...VMIO. It would seem that the spirits of barbarism and fanaticism had combined to destroy every memorial of the history and civilisation of Roman Champlieu. M. Peigné-Delacourt, who has devoted much time to a close study of the details of the theatre, calculates that it was capable of holding 3,000 persons; and thus some estimate may be made of the population of the place, which, when the extent of the ruins of dwelling-houses is also considered, must have been large.

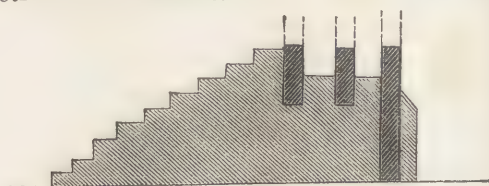
M. de Saulcy, supported by MM. Viollet-le-Duc and Mérimée, is, or was, of opinion that although this theatre

is unquestionably of Roman origin, it had been subjected to injury, and was restored by Chilperic for the combats of wild beasts, and for other unrefined sports. He founded his opinion on certain architectural grounds, such as the inferiority of the mortar; the absence of bonding courses of tiles; the scorings upon some of the stones of the walls; and also on a passage in Gregory of Tours, who states that "*Chilpericus apud Suessionas et Parisius circos ædificare . . . præcepit, populis spectaculum præbens. . .*". M. Peigné-Delacourt, who also has supporters (now probably increased in numbers), contends that the theatre is wholly and purely Roman; that the peculiarities in favour of a Merovingian origin, according to the views of M. de Sauley, are not at all unusual in some Roman buildings; and that the *circi* of Gregory of Tours would apply better to wooden structures for races, wrestling, fights of animals, and sports adapted to the taste of the time of Chilperic; and in no way admitting application to a building such as that at Champ-lieu. And, further, that the words "*apud Suessionas*" are correctly to be understood as applying to the town of Soissons, and not to the district *le Soissonnais*, in which the theatre is situated.

The ornamented stones will be understood by the annexed woodcut. It would not be difficult to find similar work upon Roman buildings. From memory, I may cite some in the Roman Station at Risingham; and also in the Roman



Wall itself;* and the practice does not necessarily denote a late period. The mortar, of an inferior kind, is certainly not usual in Roman masonry, and is, indeed, exceptional; but it is occasionally found; and M. Peigné-Delacourt lays stress on its being precisely similar in the walls of Arlaines,† near Soissons, and suggests that they may be contemporaneous, and that the mortar may merely indicate local deficiency of knowledge in the masons. Under any circumstances, the objections raised against the Roman construction are untenable.



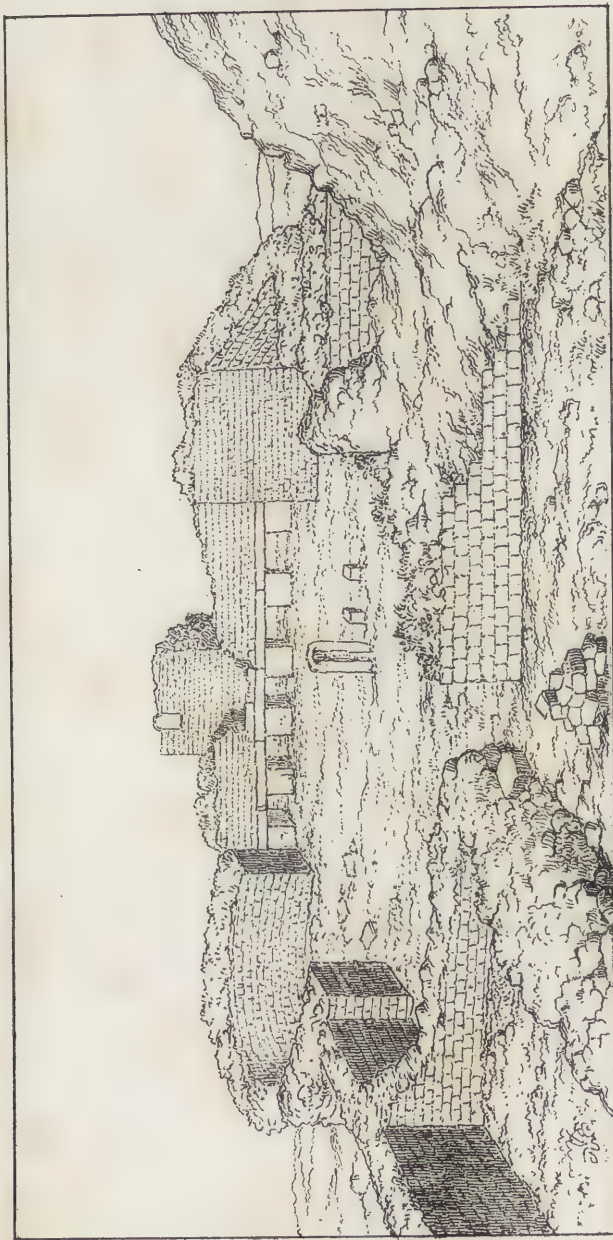
SECTION OF THE HEMICYCLE OF THE THEATRE.

The main building on the south of the theatre, plates vii and viii, may be roughly stated to be about 150 feet in length by 60 feet.* It consists of a large hall with portico and columns, and a series of apartments, mostly warmed by hypocausts, separated from the hall by a room about 15 feet in width. The foundations alone were visible when I made sketches; but M. Peigné-Delacourt has published an excellent plan,† from which the nature of the building can be well understood. To obtain heat was one of the chief objects of the builders of this villa; and there were no less than three furnaces for this purpose. Their construction, and that of the floorings of the rooms, built upon piles of square tiles to admit

* *The Roman Wall*, by the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce, LL.D., etc., 3rd edition, p. 83, 4to., London and Newcastle.

† The remains here are stated to be those of a *castrum*; but possibly they may have belonged to a *mutatio* only. I have not been able to procure any illustrated account of them, though they are often referred to.

‡ *L'Hypocauste de Champlieu*, Beauvais, 1867.



Whitman & Bass, *Phot. Lith.*



the free circulation of the heated air, was upon the well-known principle which must have been so advantageous and so acceptable in the cold and wet climate of the North of Europe. The remains of this villa indicate opulence and luxury. The pavements, some of which were, no doubt, of the better kind of tessellated work, had been destroyed, but the walls had traces of paintings; and there was a fountain with a *labrum* or basin for catching the water which fell from a jet.

The interest attached to these discoveries extends beyond the remains themselves, viewed individually and artistically. Their full extent has not yet been ascertained, so far as I have been able to learn; but I noticed foundations of buildings in the forest of Compiègne, at a considerable distance from the temple and theatre, which appeared to be a portion of the ancient town. That it was a town of importance there can be no doubt; and a question of great interest arises as to the position it held for commerce and defence: was it of a military character, or an unfortified town flourishing in security, amidst walled towns at no great distance? It may, I think, be accepted conclusively that it did not belong either to the class called *castra*, purely military fortresses, or to that of fortified or military towns. Had these buildings been erected by legions or cohorts, or had any military bodies been long stationed there, they would have left some of those unmistakable indications of their residence, which almost, or quite, invariably mark their fixed sojourn. Such are lapidary and tile inscriptions, the latter being an almost universal result of fixed military residence. In the *Itinerary of Antoninus* no place is given between Augustomagus (Senlis) and Suessonaë (Soissons), the distance stated being twenty-two miles; but the actual distance is full ten more; so that thirty-two miles must be read; and this would be too far for a day's

military march ; so that from some cause there seems to be one station at least omitted ; and this may be either Champlieu or Mont Berny (to the latter I shall presently refer), important places of which it would seem the ancient names have been nowhere preserved. At the same time there is a possibility that a close geographical and historical review of the ancient names of places in *Belgica Secunda* may lead, in consequence of these discoveries, to a rectification of the modern equivalents of some ; but if so, the pleasing task of investigating the subject must be consigned to the practical researches of local antiquaries.

Champlieu has yet to be studied in the objects discovered. Where the sculptures are preserved I know not ; but the Museum at Compiègne, formed and presided over by M. Albert de Roucy, contains the smaller remains, together with those from Mont Berny and the district generally.* It is of surpassing interest, not only from the great antiquarian value of the contents, but likewise from their arrangement, from their genuineness as regards connection with localities, and from being unmixed with objects gathered from all parts, and indiscriminately huddled together, and unlabelled, such as satisfy the taste of the curators of many museums. Not among the least valuable remains are the agricultural implements in iron, and utensils for cooking and other domestic purposes. There is a vast store of personal ornaments, and of especial interest are the gilt leaden tickets for the theatre at Champlieu, for such they appeared to me to be ; and I believe M. de Roucy considers them as such. They are circular, and stamped with figures of deities. On one or two I noticed the word MEDIO and numerals, referring, no

* It is to be feared that in the spirit of centralisation the chief remains have been withdrawn from Compiègne and deposited in the National Museum of St. Germain.

doubt, to a central position in the grades of seats. The museum contains also a large collection of Frankish sepulchral remains, many of which are from near the ruined church in the village of Champlieu, where also many sarcophagi have been exhumed. They are mostly without ornament, and only in two instances have they any approach to an inscription. The coins which M. de Roucy has discovered in this cemetery are two Gaulish, reading VARICIV, and CRICIR, in bronze; and a few Roman from Agrippa to Gratian.*

The evidence afforded of a large Frankish and early Christian population in close contiguity to the Roman town at Champlieu is worthy consideration in respect to the time when the Roman town was destroyed and the cause; and also to the period when first the Franks settled there; and what was the German tribe to which they belonged. It is possible that they were of one of the conquered peoples beyond the Rhine introduced into Gaul by the Romans themselves, and colonised. At Gury, also in the neighbourhood of Compiègne, M. de Roucy has discovered a Frankish cemetery, together with Roman sculptures. From the few weapons of war hitherto noticed, it may be inferred that the inhabitants of the locality were engaged in agriculture and other peaceful pursuits.† Where history is silent, the archæologist must endeavour to supply the absence of written records, by the careful examination and comparison of the mute materials he extricates from the grave.

* *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Compiègne*, vol. ii, p. 366. In a Frankish cemetery at Crelles, in this district, M. de Roucy found Gaulish coins attributed to the Remi, the Suessiones, and the Bellovaci; Roman coins to the time of Valens; and a thin silver coin, apparently a rude imitation of a coin of Avitus.

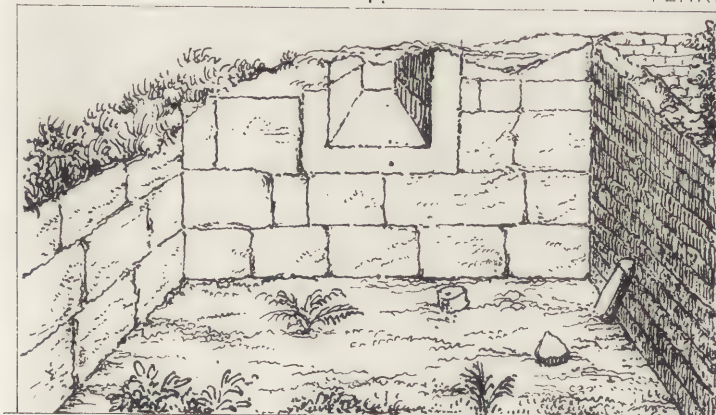
† *Idem*, vol. iii, p. 223.

The *Chaussée Brunchaut*, as the Roman road from Senlis to Soissons is called, passes through Champlieu, and enters the famous Forest of Compiègne, which is said to cover 70,000 acres, an extent of space beyond conception, or even approximate imagination. I and my companion (Mr. Mark Dodd), walked upon the Roman road for perhaps two miles, when a ravine that had been cut through it caused us to take a circuitous route flanked by an eminence from which the extent of the forest was ilimitable on all sides, and, like the unbounded ocean and all sublime objects, it evoked a feeling somewhat allied to terror. Indeed, the long lines of roads, striking from many centres in this forest, become very monotonous and tiring, as we had previously experienced in walking through it from Champlieu to Compiègne, and in returning. The Roman road could, doubtless, have been regained; but the waning day caused us to take the shortest and easiest route to Pierrefonds (well known from its fine mediæval castle, recently restored by M. Viollet-le-Duc), to us most acceptable from its vicinity to Mont Berny.

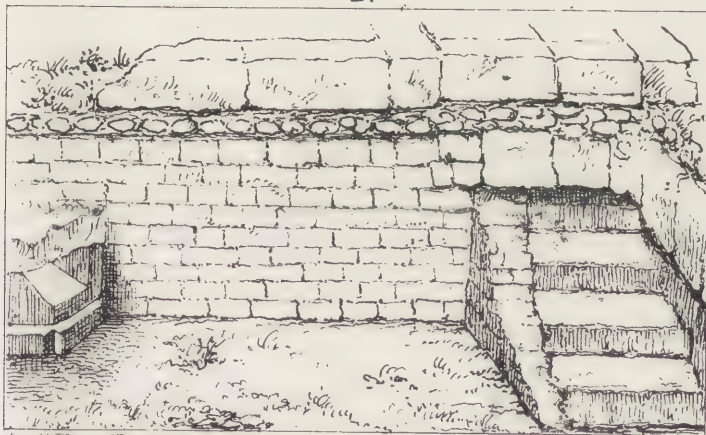
Mont Berny.—To the discoveries here by M. de Roucy I was kindly introduced by that gentleman himself, at Compiègne. The site is upon the summit of the high ground, not far from Pierrefonds, on the main road to Soissons. The excavations, so far as they had then extended, were extensive, and indicated the remains of a town covering, by estimation, full twenty acres, and probably much more, as the limits in some directions, had not been reached. On one side only had the boundary wall, with an entrance, been clearly defined; but a large space had been well and thoroughly excavated. Streets are clearly shown, spacious and paved. In places the course of the wheels of carriages is marked, and especially so at the gates to streets; for there were internal gates, as

1.

PL. IX.



2.



Engraved by Whitteman & Bass.

MONT BERNY.
(in two Views)



well as at the main entrances through the external wall. The rooms laid open amount to hundreds; some are of large dimensions, many of middling extent; but generally they are small. In many instances they show a subterraneous apartment reached by a flight of seven or eight steps (see plate ix). These rooms usually preserve traces of windows opening from a wide span to a narrow aperture;* and in some instances they have niches or recesses. They all seem constructed on the same plan, chiefly with large stones; and they are well built; but the mortar, as at Champlieu, is of inferior quality. Throughout the entire extent of the ruins of this large town I could see no trace either of tessellated pavements, or of sculptures. Some of the courts of the houses had been surrounded with porticos; and here and there I noticed bases and capitals of columns of the plainest kind. Everything seemed designed for solidity and comfort, and not for elegance. The entire distance round the excavation cannot, I think, be less than half a mile, and yet I could see no remains of any large public building, a proof, probably, of the wide extent of the town yet unexcavated. The cemetery, I believe, has not been discovered; and M. de Roucy has yet much to do to complete the important researches he has hitherto so successfully prosecuted. The private museum is half filled with works of art from Mont Berny, but no clue has in any way been found to reveal the ancient name and history of the town. So far as I had an opportunity of observing, the coins which M. de Roucy has met with are chiefly of the Higher Empire; and of these, large quantities were found in masses. The high

* A window very similar has been noticed by Mr. Robert Blair in one of the rooms of the castrum lately discovered at South Shields, probably the Tunnocelum of the *Notitia*. Plate vii, vol. vii, *Nat. Hist. Trans.* N.D. and N.C.

road from Pierrefonds to Soissons cuts the town in two; and as it covers walls and houses, and intersects streets, it is obviously comparatively modern. The wood also which grows over the remains is, of course, not ancient. The growth of woods as we see here and at Compiègne is far more rapid than is generally supposed.

M. de Roucy has published a list of the potters' names which he has collected from Champlieu, Mont Berny, and other localities in the environs of Compiègne, which I here transcribe.* In it will be found many not occurring in other lists, and some common to most of them. Those which are restricted to the Compiègne district may be accepted as indicating manufacturers whose works were probably confined to the locality; while those from the potteries of the Allier, Bordeaux, and other places, must have been largely and widely exported.

ADECARI	CANTORALLI.M.	COSSO FE.
ALBVCIANI	CAPITO	COSVRIO
ALBVC	CASSIGNETI	CRACIS.M
AMANDO	CASVRIVS.F.	CRECIRO.OFI.
AMIANI	CATVINVS F	OF.CRESIO
ANDHCADO	CESORIN	DIORATI
ASA	CILTVS.F.	DIVICATVS
ASIATI.F.M.	CINNAMI	DOLNICCVS
ATISSV	M.CINIANI	DOMS
ATTILLI	CINNINVS	DOVISICO
AVONVS F	CINIVSSI	DVROTIX.F
BANVI	CIINIARI.M	EPPILLI.OF
BOLLI	CINTVCENI	HABILIS.M.
BOVDVS.F.	COBNI.....	HOAMIS
BRICCVS	COMNERIS	IMPRIIO

* *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Compiègne*, tome 2, 1874.

IARVS.F.	MONIANVS	SATURNINVS
IOENALIS.F.	MOTTVS.F.	SAVANN.
IVLIOS	MOXI.M.	SAXOMER.F.
IVN.....	NEOVRES	SCOTIVS
IVSTI.MA	NICINIOR.F.	SENALIS.M
LAXTVGIS.F	PATERNI	SERVLIS.FE.
LVCITVS	PATRIC...	OF.SEVERI
LVPPA.F	PAVLLI	SEVERIANI
MAINVS	PECVLIAR.F.	STATO
MAMMI.OF.	PORIAM	TETLIOS
MARTIO	PRIMI	TETTARO
MARTIALIS	PRIMVS.F.	TITVLLI.M.
MASALIA	PRISCIANI.M.	TITVRONIS.O.
MATARI.M.	PRITTIVS	TOCCIVS
MATERN	RVFFI.MA.	TVLLVS.FE.
MAXI	OF.RVFLI.M.	TVVIMR
MAXIMI	RVFICV	VDVCVSI
MENSSOR.FEC.	SACIRV.FE.	VELDVLI.M
METTI.M.	SAMILLI.MA.	VERECVND.FEC.
MIDEMERIVS	OF.SARRII.....	VINVCI.M.
MILIA.....	SATIVS	OF.VITALIS
MINAC.M	SATTOTIICII	VOCANV.F.
MITRVS		

Of this list PORIAM.—SAXOMER.F.—and ASA, are upon amphoræ; VERECVND.FEC. upon the rim of a mortarium.

M. de Roucy remarks that of the 110 names of this list about thirty occur in those of Amiens and Bavai; and that possibly other lists may include some not in these two. It may be so; but so far as I am able to ascertain, a considerable number appear to have been hitherto unpublished.

Soissons.—This town, which covers the ruins of *Augusta Suessionum*, is an easy day's journey from Pierrefonds,

through a rich and picturesque country. Within a few miles of Soissons is the farm of Arlaines, the supposed site of a camp or station where excavations were made some time since by, I believe, the Archæological Society of Soissons, with what result I could never ascertain. The site is near Pont Archer. A camp it is unlikely to have been: it most probably was one of those numerous *mansiones* or *mutationes*, which were adapted for public purposes, and also for travellers, combining the advantages both of barracks and inns. Soissons, in its present state, is disappointing to the antiquary: the Roman walls are either destroyed or embodied in modern military works. An unexcavated theatre in the garden and shrubbery of the *Seminaire*, and broken shafts of large columns, were almost all I could recognise of the ancient city. Probably no town of such rich historical memories has so little to show of the past.

Laon.—Laon, within a journey of two hours from Soissons, has a museum which will surprise the antiquary in the splendid remains it possesses; but only to disappoint and vex him. There is not only no catalogue, but most of the antiquities are either not labelled at all, or so laconically and grudgingly that other means must be resorted to for procuring a history of them. There is no guide to any Guide-book; no reference to any publication. For years the late M. de Caumont raised his voice against this inconsistency, but in vain. No doubt there are *brochures* and volumes to assist the inquirer, but they are not indicated; and the earnest antiquary finds he has travelled far to feel that the curators of museums must be impressed with a belief that to see the treasures of antiquity is quite enough, and that nobody can be expected to wish to study them. Laon is asserted to represent *Lugdunum Clavatum* or *Laudunum*, and no doubt it may

be so identified as regards the middle ages; but it is doubtful if it be so in respect to Lugdunum of the Remi, for there is no appearance of any Roman remains in the town so far as I could ascertain; but there is a *Vieux Laon* not far off, and this is suggestive of the origin of some of the undescribed remains in the museum.

Bazoches has supplied much of great interest, excavated, we are told, and transported to Laon at the cost of the General Committee of the Aisne. Of these, a large and very fine fragment of a rich tessellated pavement is most conspicuous. It would seem to have been found at Bianzy, but this is not unambiguously stated. The subject is the common representation of Orpheus subjecting the animal kingdom by the power of music. The musician, life-size, is seated as playing his lyre, between two trees, the lyre resting upon a table. The figure of Orpheus is well drawn, and clothed in full and flowing drapery, the arrangement of which and the shading of the folds are admirably designed and executed, so that at a distance the composition appears like a fine painting. Upon one tree sit a part-ridge, a peacock, and a bird like a rook; on the other an owl and a woodpecker. On one side stand a boar, a bear, and a leopard; on the other a horse, a stag, and an elephant, all well characterised, and listening attentively to the enchanter's melodious lyre. The borders are filled with various kinds of fish and decorative designs, all in good work. In certain parts of the pavement, as, for instance, in the plumage of the birds, coloured glass has been used to increase the effect. There are other mosaics not inferior in any point of view, such as that with a turreted female figure holding a patera over an altar. Of these, one is marked as having been brought from Vailly. There are also sculptures; and wall paintings from Nezy le Comte: see *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi, p. 292.

Pont-du-Gard—Tributary Aqueduct.—The people of England are thinking of doing, or of attempting to do, what the Romans accomplished two thousand years ago, at home and abroad. The Prince of Wales has urged the Society of Arts to institute a discussion as to the best mode of bringing pure water to our doors; to consider how far the vast natural resources of the kingdom, by some great and comprehensive scheme, may be adapted to the wants of various districts, for the benefit not only of a few large centres of population, but for the general weal. With history before us, with monuments rendering the ancient system of engineering perfectly clear and intelligible, we begin to look around us and see how we are to supply our towns with pure water! The lofty aqueducts which stretch across the Campagna, and are yet to be seen in majestic ruins, not only all over Italy, but throughout the provinces of the Roman Empire, speak of foresight and care for human health, and of unsurpassed scientific skill. With such examples before our eyes, there must be something wrong in our national character and government which, with the country's riches, with rivers and water in abundance, allow the mass of the population to remain destitute of that great essential of healthy life, pure water. The discussions about the London supply, and that of Manchester and other towns, seem a bitter satire upon the boasted intelligence and education of the present age; an inconsistency not to be reconciled with what has been done in past time, nor with what may be done now, were there a disposition to be wise from experience.

The remains of the aqueducts at Rome, which form as it were a kind of net-work intersecting each other, are among the most remarkable ruins of that wonderful city. But the visitor who only sees them at Rome itself, and in

the immediate vicinity, can form but a very imperfect notion of the great system and principle upon which they were constructed, not merely in Italy, but throughout the Roman Empire. The immense structures which amaze us with their vastness were raised simply to provide a level for the aqueduct itself, which was a channel varying in height and width, and uniformly like that shewn in the aqueduct of Fréjus, p. 25, vol. v, *Collectanea Antiqua*; but this channel was often conducted through the land, sometimes at a superficial depth, by the sides of hills, through rocks and hills, to suit the requirements of the proper level. Such aqueducts are found throughout France running sometimes for very long distances, without needing those costly and imposing arcades, the ruins of which are so attractive to the eye, and so astounding to the mind.

In our own country we find evidences of aqueducts on a much smaller scale, but precisely on the same principle as the continental. That at Æsica or Great Chesters, on the Roman Wall, Dr. Bruce tells us,* was cut in the sides of the numerous little hills on the north of the great wall, in a very circuitous route, in order to preserve the water level. The construction and the course chosen display great engineering skill; so that in the entire length of six miles a bridge or embankment had only to be built at one spot. The distance from the source to the *castrum*, in a direct line, is only about two miles and a quarter. Aqueducts have been also met with in other *castra* on the great wall. At Caernarvon an inscription was discovered recording the restoration of an aqueduct in the time of

* *The Roman Wall; a Description of the Mural Barrier of the North of England.* Third Edition, 4to, London and New-castle-upon-Tyne, 1867.

Severus and Caracalla, which must have been of a superior kind to claim such a commemoration.*

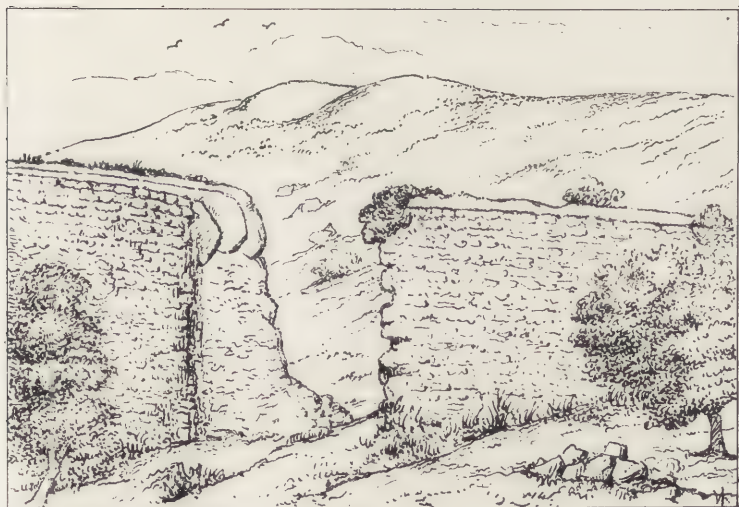
Of the aqueducts in France, that of the Pont du Gard is the most generally known, for it is one of the most magnificent of the many grand monuments of Roman Gaul yet remaining. Accessible in a day's journey either from Avignon or Nismes, few who have leisure or taste omit visiting it; and therefore it is well known, and it has been studied and written on more than others in France which are quite as well worth examination, but a proper comprehension of which involves time and an acquaintance with tracts of country not very accessible without guides or previous study. Such are the aqueducts which supplied water to Arles; of the greatest interest from their extent and peculiarities of construction, but quite out of the reach of the ordinary visitors to that town, in itself so full of wonders in ancient art.

A visit with my friends MM. William Law and John Harris, in the autumn of 1876, to the Pont du Gard, led to the discovery, in the immediate vicinity, of remains which I had never heard or read of; and which, consequently, I infer are but little known; certainly not generally known, for I can find no notice of them in any available published works. Plate x shows two views from sketches I made on the spot. The ruins are those of a tributary aqueduct built for collecting the rain water from the adjoining hills, round one side of which we traced the aqueduct diminishing into a shallow water-course, which had, in parts, been recently excavated by some explorer. It is situated on the left of the great aqueduct supposing a person walking over it towards

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii, p. 201. The *SVNC* in this inscription, no doubt, refers to the *Sunuci*, named in a military diploma as serving in Britain in the time of Hadrian.



TRIBUTARY AQUEDUCT
near the
PONT DU GARD.
in two Views.





Nismes; and at no great distance from the Pont du Gard, just before the aqueduct enters the hill which was laboriously quarried to receive it. It spans a ravine between two hills, and originally, I suppose, had two feeders, although we could only trace one, winding round to our left in the direction of the road from which we ascended, and the inn where we refreshed ourselves and the horses and driver we procured at Avignon.*

This tributary aqueduct led to a reservoir (*castellum*) in the main aqueduct, where the impurities settled down and the clear water flowed with that in the chief channel. Its construction admitted, of course, of its being occasionally cleared from sediment; but it is very probable that it was provided with some preparatory reservoir in its course from the hills. It is now encumbered with ruins; but so far as I could judge it was hexagonal. Aqueducts of great extent such as this were supplied not only with similar reservoirs, but also with another kind, in which was reserved pure water for distribution to villages on the line of the main course. It is said that the Pont du Gard aqueduct, on entering Nismes, was divided into three channels emptying into *castella*. One discovered in 1844 is among the most interesting of the important monuments of Nismes which have survived the systematic destruction of ages of barbarism and blind utilitarianism. It is circular, about 18 feet in diameter, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The composition with which it is paved is similar to that used at the Pont du Gard, and throughout this and other aqueducts—quick-lime, pounded tiles, and a small portion of sand, acquiring a tenacity and consistence equal to stone.

* In a former visit to the Pont du Gard my companion was Mr. J. G. Waller. We walked from Tarascon, and slept at Remoulins, a village within an hour's walk of the Pont du Gard.

Surrounding the reservoir is a pavement of strong flag-stones, nearly five feet wide, originally furnished with a balustrade. Around this was a wall $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, lined with hard cement, the white colour of which was relieved with borders in green and red, the centre being filled with dolphins and various kinds of fish. Above the wall was a colonnade with a richly ornamented cornice. From the large quantities of tiles found among the ruins of the columns in the reservoir, it is inferred that the columns supported a tiled roof. Such, in a few words, was the sumptuous decoration. The appliances for the distribution of the water in various directions were most complete, and enough of the details yet remain to show the consummate skill of the designers and constructors, and of the curators of water at Nismes. Visitors to the Pont du Gard content themselves with viewing the grand and lofty arcades which carry the aqueduct across the ravine and over the river Gardon ; but they do not grasp a notion of the extent of the aqueduct itself, to which these colossal works are but an accessory.

On the occasion of the former visit, I and Mr. Waller traced the vestiges of the aqueduct in the direction of Uzès, where the principal source rises, the distance from Nismes being upwards of twenty miles. At intervals, for a long distance, we found portions more or less perfect ; when we came to a much lower level where, although arches must have been required, we could discern no remains of them, so completely had they been pulled down and removed. Here, our time being exhausted, we returned, and found to our surprise we had made a wide semi-circle, and had approached towards the point from whence we started, the Pont du Gard.

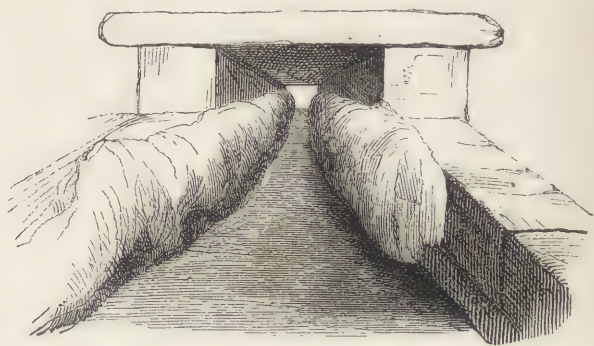
During the latter visit, which led to the discovery of the tributary aqueduct, we examined closely the main channel

or aqueduct *par excellence*, walking through it the entire extent above the three ranges of arches which span the river. Of these, the first and second are similar in span and altitude, the second being increased in number to fill the widened chasm between the hills; while the third range, which carries the channel, has no less than five and thirty. The full height of the entire structure is stated to be 147 feet; its length at the uppermost part about 830 feet.

The channel in which flowed the water is full six feet in height, and about four feet in width, so that a person of ordinary stature can walk in it freely. It is covered with large slabs, which yet remain, excepting here and there. It is lined with the usual concrete of quick-lime and pounded tile, with a little grit, and painted red. Mr. Waller, who is practically acquainted with the art of painting in fresco, remarks that "this paint is probably composed of fine lime and oxide of iron (most likely colcothar, a sulphate), and was applied while the substratum was wet, after the manner of fresco-painting; and thus being absorbed into the surface, becomes hard with the rest. Its office was to prevent the water penetrating the lime, and so injuring the stone work." Over this is a thicker layer of what appears at first sight to be an additional coating intentionally laid on; but it is not in a straight line, nor equal in width, curving from near the top of the aqueduct, and forming on each side the segment of a large circle; it extends also over the bottom, but is there not so thick as upon the sides. Close examination, however, shows that this is merely a calcareous deposit from the water which must have been highly charged with lime. This accumulation has reduced the water passage from about four feet to a little over two feet.

The view here given, taken at a spot where the side

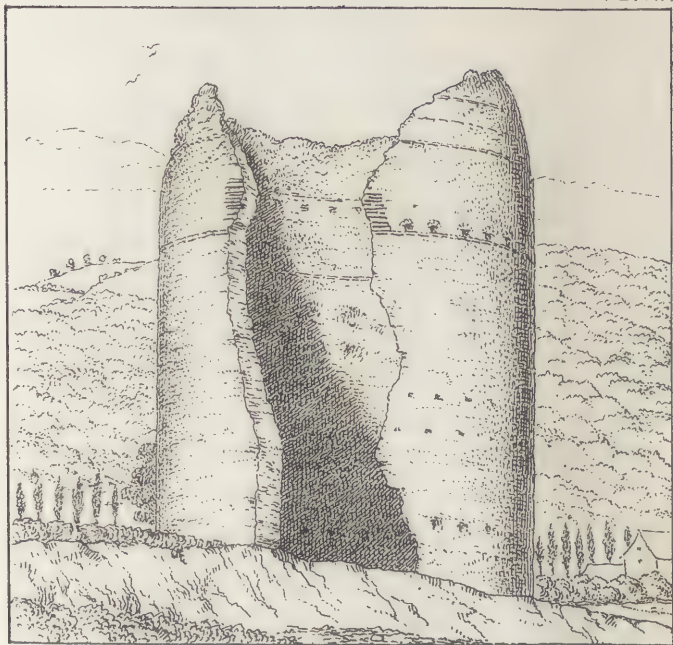
walls and the covering slabs have been partly removed, shows this stalactitic incrustation. It must have been the result of centuries. The aqueduct was probably constructed in the reign of Augustus, when so many public



buildings were erected at Nismes and throughout Gaul. The interruption of the watercourse at accessible points would be one of the first objects of hostile invaders; the removal of stone-work wherever it was possible, must be assigned to the middle ages, and even to modern times.

We followed the aqueduct and its course for some distance towards Nismes. After crossing the river Gardon by the stupendous bridge of three tiers of arches it penetrates the hill adjoining; and here is a varied instance of Roman engineering skill. The aqueduct is now carried forwards in a tunnel. This is high and spacious, worked in a hard calcareous rock or marble, in which the auger holes and the marks of other implements used for detaching the rock, are as fresh as when they were made. We penetrated this tunnel as far as our time would admit, regretting we could not follow its course on to Nismes, and thus as fully as possible investigate a monument which, restricted to its appearance at the Pont du Gard, grand and majestic as it is there shown, is yet but half studied and understood.





TOUR DE VÉSONE. PÉRIGEAUX.



Moniteur & Dess. Photo-Litho

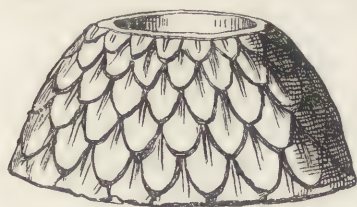
INTERIOR OF SAME.

Périgueux.—This town, full of Roman remains and surrounded with localities of high historical interest, is probably less known than any of equal importance in France. It does not lie upon any of the chief commercial routes, nor is it embraced in the scope of fashionable excursionists; and thus it remains studied and appreciated by a few zealous local antiquaries, but almost unknown to the rest of the world. It is one of many towns in France which retains in its modern name Gaulish and not Roman influence. The Romans called it Vesunna; but having been the capital of the Petrocorii, or Petrucorii,* its name, Périgueux, is derived from the people, while that of Vesunna ceased with the Roman domination. It is, however, preserved in the name of one of its most remarkable monuments, the *Tour de Vésone*, situated on the south-eastern side of the town, beyond the Roman wall of circumvallation. Périgueux within the Roman wall is called, emphatically, *La Cité*. It is supposed by some that the precincts of the Roman town extended much further, and that its limits were contracted when the wall was built; but this notion requires qualification. The remains which exist in the environs of Périgueux are of a character precisely similar to those of very many Roman towns, the suburbs of which were extensive and covered with villas and even public buildings. Autun affords a striking example. See *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv, p. 222.

The *Tour de Vésone* (plate xi) is a majestic circular building, about 100 feet in height, and the wall at the base about six feet thick, diminishing in thickness towards the top, which appears to have been crowned with a cupola (see p. 38), now, with other architectural remains, preserved within the tower. It may be remarked that some of the old eccle-

* So called on a fragment of an inscription found at Périgueux.

siastical edifices of Périgueux are surmounted with cupolas suggesting the influence of Roman art. The tower is con-



structed with the usual excellent Roman masonry faced exteriorly with the small squared stones called by the French *petit appareil*, with an

occasional band of tiles which, towards the top, are here and there grouped for decorative effect. The entrance is unfortunately destroyed; but towards what must have been immediately above it the tiles are freely used, indicating some ornamentation which, no doubt, harmonised with the architecture above the doorway. The tiles also appear in a row of small windows which run round the upper part; but all of these do not seem to have been intended to admit light, for in the interior they are blocked up with tiles. One is here shown. The interior surface of the



building, it is asserted, had been originally covered with thin slabs of marble, some of the iron fastenings of which re-

mained a few years ago; and even one or two of the marble slabs. From excavations made many years since by M. Taillefer, the historian of Périgueux, it is ascertained that there was a surrounding colonnade; and circumstances seem to have decided that, on the eastern side, where the great breach has been made, there was a portico or vestibule. Dr. E. Galy, who holds a high scientific position, and is the antiquary *par excellence* of Périgueux, states*

* *Le Portique du Temple de Vesunna*, par Dr. E. Galy, Président de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord, etc. Périgueux, 1875.

that in cutting the railway the massive foundation upon which it was erected was discovered, together with an inscription, which he considers was connected with the edifice; and which he adduces as confirmatory of his opinion that the *Tour de Vésone* was the temple of Vesunna, the tutelary divinity of the Roman city. It was found, in 1868, embedded in the masonry of the episcopal palace. This and the block (*massif*) supposed to have formed the base, or part of the base of the portico, were, therefore, not in their original site, wherever that might have been. The railway skirts the city at some little distance from the *Tour de Vésone*, and at the foot of the *Château de Barrière*, which is built into and upon the Roman city wall, just beyond the Roman gate called *Porte St. Hélène*, shown in plate xii.

This inscription, upon two pieces of stone, and unfortunately not perfect, is as follows, with the exception of the lower portions of four letters in line 3, which, without much doubt, were DEDIC:

VGVESTI
 VGVSTAE
 BELLO
 PRIM ANI
 TVTELAE VESVNNAE
 PORTICVM EX P. FACIENDVM ET

It is thus restored and completed by Dr. Galy:

NVMINI AVGVSTI
 ET DEAE AVGVSTAE
 DEDICAT ABELLO
 PRIMIANI
 TVTELAE VESVNNAE
 PORTICVM EX PECVNIA FACIENDVM ET
 ORNANDVM CVRAVIT.

To the divinity of Augustus, and to the august goddess, Abello, son of Primianus, dedicates. At his own cost he has erected and adorned the portico of the tutelary Vesunna.

Other inscriptions found in Périgueux similar to this,* show that Vesunna was generally worshipped as the protectress and guardian of the place. The word *Tutela*, as shown by coins and inscriptions, was of extensive signification, and applicable either to human or to divine power. Similar functions were ascribed to the *Genius Loci*, to Fortune, and to *Tutela*; yet the pliable and expansive theories of the multitude on matters not amenable to reason could either combine or isolate at pleasure. On the coins of Carausius, struck in Gaul (see *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v, p. 241), we have not only *Tutela Aug.*, but also the pure and unqualified word *TVTELA*, without adjunct. On this much might be said; but I am restricted at present to Périgueux and the *Tour de Vésone*.

The popular name of this majestic ruin certainly retains that of the Roman city; and Dr. Galy and others consider there are good reasons to believe it to have been the temple of the tutelary goddess Vesunna, recorded in the inscriptions. By some it has been supposed a sepulchral monument; but while no positive evidence appears to determine which theory is correct, probabilities seem to be in favour of the theory of Dr. Galy. If the inscription given above had been excavated in or close to the building itself, instead of the episcopal palace, no doubt could have remained; but in a town so large and important as Vesunna, which, from the vast dislocated remains yet preserved, must have been rich in public and private monuments, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assign them

* *Catalogue du Musée Archéologique du Département de la Dordogne*, par le Dr. E. Galy. Périgueux, 1862.





W. Thompson & B. J. P. P. P. P. P.

PORTE ST. HÉLENE, PÉRIGEAUX.

to their original sites. They were mostly discovered in the Roman town walls used as building materials, and, of course, brought from the ruins of edifices which must have been destroyed by violence of no ordinary kind.

The *Château de Barrière*, mentioned above, is of itself a museum of architectural antiquities of the highest interest. In the courts are standing columns with richly decorated capitals, some almost perfect; others broken; portions of friezes; worked stones which must have belonged to important buildings; and inscriptions. Many of these appear to be *in situ*; but it would be hazardous and rash for the passing visitor to form any decisive off-handed theories on materials of the richest and most interesting kinds, but silent as to their history. One of the inscriptions, not quite perfect, is especially interesting. It was found, Dr. Galy tells us, at the foot of the donjon of the château; and is now in an embrasure of a window of the grand hall. It is well cut in a stone about three feet high:

ET DEO APOLLINI	Et deo Apollini
COBLEDVLITAVO	Cobledulitavo
M.POMPEIVS.C.POMP.	Marcus Pompeius, Caii Pompeii
SANCTI. SACERDOT	sanctissimi sacerdotis
ARENSIS FIL.QVIR.LIB	arensis filius, Quirina libertinus,
SACERDOS ARENSIS	sacerdos arensis,
QVI TEMPLVM DEA	qui templum Deæ
TVTELAE ET THERMAS	tutelæ et thermas
PVBLC. VTRAQ. OL	publicas, utraque olim
VETVSTATE COLLAB	vetustate collabsa
SVA PECVNIA REST	sua pecunia restituit:
V. S. L. M.	votum, solvit, libens, merito.

. and to the god Apollo Cobledubitavus, Marcus Pompeius, son of Caius Pompeius, the most holy priest of the

altar of....., and of the god *Apollo Cobledulitavus*; of the tribe *Quirina*, a freedman, priest of the same altar. He has restored at his own cost the temple of the tutelary goddess (or of the goddess *Tutela*), and the public hot baths fallen into decay from the effects of time. The vow he had made he pays joyfully and justly.

This inscription contains much of interest, and must be esteemed as the recovery of a lost chapter in the history of Roman Périgueux. Had the hundreds of inscriptions destroyed by barbarism and fanaticism been saved, we should not be forced, as we often are, to substitute conjecture for certainty. The surname of Cobledubitavus given to Apollo is only to be explained by some attribute expressed in the Gaulish tongue, or by some locality; it has its parallel in a thousand instances of adjuncts to the names of deities. The word *arensis*, which, like many in lapidary inscriptions, seems unusual, is derived, Dr. Galy suggests, from *ara*; *sacerdos arensis*, priest attached to the altar, the same as *sacerdos castrensis** signifies priest attached to the *castra*, or army priest. Here we have the goddess *Tutela* simply *Dea Tutela*, and *Vesunna* does not appear; and this does not in any way clear up doubts on the *Tour de Vésone*; but may suggest several temples or shrines dedicated to the tutelary goddess.

In 1858, near the river l'Isle, on which Périgueux is situated, were discovered the remains of an extensive thermal establishment, probably that referred to in the inscription. Its *façade* on the south was full 180 feet. Three arched channels, one in the centre and two at the

* Inscriptions frequently afford words and expressions new to the classical scholar, such as *ATTEGIAM TEGVLICIAM COMPOSITAM* in a votive inscription to Mercury, at Wassembourg, near Niederbronn. *Antiquités de Vichy*, etc., par M. Beaulieu, p. 188.

extremities, carried the surplus water towards the river l'Isle, after supplying the three principal apartments of the building, which was furnished with galleries and all requisite conveniences. The floors were paved with a coarse mosaic, and the walls retained traces of painting. Vesunna also had public fountains, referred to in another inscription, which records their being given to the city by the decemvir L. Marullius Æternus.

From these precious memorials we learn that Vesunna possessed several temples. One of them was dedicated to the god Telonus, recognised by M. de Tallefer as the genius of the fountain or spring of Toulon, *Telo*, situated near Périgueux. Restorations and ornamentations of temples are mentioned in fragmentary inscriptions, one of them naming a goddess *Stanna*. There are also many votive altars. One of these shows there was at Vesunna as early as the reign of Tiberius a company of butchers (*laniones*). As regards the goddess *Stanna*, M. de Tallefer thinks that the name is suggestive of reference to the commerce in tin (*stannum*) with Britain. Dr. Galy does not incline to that view, remarking that the Petrocorii, according to Strabo, employed themselves chiefly in working iron, the truth of which is shown by the extensive remains of scoria in the forests.

At Toulon, above mentioned, was found in the last century a milestone dedicated to the emperor Florianus, whose reign, if so it may be called, lasted scarcely two months. It is of particular interest, although not unique, as generally supposed, for we have one discovered in England. On that at Périgueux, the ephemeral emperor is addressed in high-sounding and exsufflicate (to take a word peculiarly Shakespeare's) terms, thus :

DOMINO ORBIS

ET PACIS. IMP. C.

Domino orbis

et pacis, imperatori, Cæsari,

M. ANNIO. FLO-	Marco Annio Flo-
RIANO P. F.	riano, <i>pio, felici,</i>
INV. AVG. P. M.	<i>invicto, augusto, pontifici, maximo</i>
TRP. P. P. PR ^o C ^o S.	<i>tribunitia potestate, patri patriæ,</i>
	<i>proconsuli.</i>
P. L.	<i>Prima Leuca.</i>

The other, unknown to our friends in France, was discovered by the late Mr. E. T. Artis at Castor, in Northamptonshire, and is engraved in pl. xv of his *Durobrivæ Illustrated*. It reads :

IMP. CAS	Imperatorī Caesarī
M. ANNIO	Marco Annio
FLORIANO	Floriano
P. F. INVICTO	Pio Felici Invicto
AVG.	Augusto
M P. LI	Mille Passuum LI ?

It is doubtful whether the numerals in the last line be LI or II : reference to the stone itself can alone determine.

The titles which Florianus assumed without the authority of the Senate after the death of his brother Tacitus, must have been to a certain extent recognised until, two months afterwards, he was killed by the army at Tarsus. Coins were struck freely ; and here we find, in Gaul and Britain, milestones erected in his name. The transmission of news from the great centre of authority to the most remote provinces by means of the admirable roads and system of posting was expeditious and constant, of which these milestones afford interesting evidence.

No one can have examined the inscriptions of the towns of France without being struck with the very frequent occurrence of the names of members of the Pompeian family, often as recording acts of public utility, and indicating by their style a comparatively early period : at Périgueux

there are at least seven. The family is historically connected with Gaul and Spain, and these lapidary records show how extended the possessions and wealth of its members must have been ; but, from the extraordinary number of these inscriptions, many must be assigned to freedmen who had adopted the name.

Excavations for public purposes in the lower part of the town, at the *Caserne*, enabled us to see the mouth of the Roman sewer. It is constructed with large stones in so substantial a manner that if the interior channels were not choked up, there is no reason why it should not be as available for its object as ever. Here is another important and indispensable provision made universally by the Romans for the decency and health of their towns, which their successors neglected, although they paid the penalty of neglect in periodical plague and pestilence. The persistent indifference to the future shown alike in the laying out of our towns and in our private buildings, is one of the physiological peculiarities of the Teutonic race, a part and parcel of ancient instincts never to be thoroughly eradicated, except by the cruel lessons of ages. I am writing close to a cathedral town, the centre of a triad of towns with a population of some 40,000, in which sewers and embankments are disregarded with cynical contempt, in spite of continual destruction of property and of human life.

The *Porte St. Hélène* (plate xii) is the only Roman entrance to Périgueux which we could get access to. It is at the lower part of the town, near the *Château de Barrière*, the entrance to which is indicated by the figure on the right within the walls. But there is another of a very superior kind in a good state of preservation, ornamented with pilasters, through which was the entrance from Rome. It is completely masked by houses of the commonest kind.

Speaking of this fine gate, to which by special favour he gained access, M. de Caumont indignantly exclaims: "Is it not deplorable, after all, that monuments such as this should be treated with such indifference by towns? I am reminded that in 1858 our *Société Française d'Archéologie* placed a certain sum at the command of MM. Verneilh and Galy to purchase this interesting gate, but the proprietor of the adjoining land refused all proposals. I think that in a case like this the law *d'expropriation pour cause d'utilité publique* could be applied; I see no reason why it should be stayed before the bad will of a single inhabitant whose garden would in no way suffer by the alienation."* This noble champion of conservatism in its best sense never quailed before the demon of vandalism wherever it showed its despotic face: throughout the fair and extensive provinces of France he seemed ubiquitous; but the monster he combated was a terrestrial octopus with universal and vivifying ramifications; and M. de Caumont, with all his power, unselfishness, and devotion, could do little more than show the world an example of courage and virtue.

M. de Caumont remarks that, as is the case of all other Roman cities, the town fortified in the fourth century with the *débris* of ancient monuments (as is indicated by the walls yet to be traced at Périgueux), is infinitely less extended than it was in the first three centuries of the Christian era. We had not an opportunity of testing practically this assertion. It may induce a question as to its entire correctness, and open a most interesting field of inquiry. This certainly is not the case with Roman towns in our own country. The present walls of Roman London, like so many of those in France, built in part with materials from overthrown public buildings and sepulchral

* *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxv, p. 434.

monuments, do not point to a contraction of the city at any time, but rather to an extension ; and I am not aware of any other Roman town that shows by its circumvallation a diminution of extent. According to a Plan of Roman Périgueux, prepared by Dr. Galy, and therefore to be relied upon, the amphitheatre, of which some important remains are yet preserved, is enclosed within the city wall, the northern hemicycle extending slightly beyond the line, and forming part of the mural defence. I think a similar arrangement occurs at Tours.

The magnificence of the public buildings of Vesunna is attested by the remains yet preserved. Nearly all the columns and capitals are richly decorated, mostly of the composite order, with luxurious variety, which nothing but a long series of engravings could convey an idea of. The Wroxeter sculptures in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii, may give some faint notion ; but those of Périgueux are on a far grander scale. Some of the fragments must have belonged to the finest and most elaborate sepulchral monuments, like those of Lillebonne and Trèves ; such probably is that, among many others, with masks and foliated ornaments. In leaves below two of these is inscribed DEMOCRITVS.—HERACLITVS ; a fanciful attribution from the supposed smiling aspect of the one, and the rueful looks of the other. The Sphinges, shown in plate xiii (3 ft. by 2 ft. 3 in.), afford a somewhat new type to the very large number extant of this creation of exuberant imagination which has exercised the no less fertile perception of many essayists.

The sculptures preserved at Périgueux have mostly been taken from the walls of the city, from time to time pulled down, without any regard to their historical value. In these walls they merely constituted a portion of the materials used by the Romans themselves. Precisely the same

history is attached to similar remains at Bourges, at Sens, at Dijon, and at fifty or more other Roman towns in France. The same also occurs in Roman towns on the Rhine and in Belgium. No one can contemplate facts so remarkable without being struck with a desire to see how they may be explained; and consequently of late years a spirit of inquiry has been excited among the archæologists of France; and in Belgium, at the present moment, M. Schuermans is prosecuting researches on the subject.*

These sculptures, from their superior design and execution, indicate an early period, and may be assigned to the first two centuries of our era; most of them probably belong to the time of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius visited their wide dominions, and their presence was accompanied by acts of public benevolence and munificence which can yet be traced in the chief provincial towns. The inscriptions, also, taken from the walls, so far as they can be chronologically attributed, do not, I believe, extend later than the close of the second century; but this is a point which requires further examination. I have not noted any that can be assigned to a late date. What then was the catastrophe, or series of catastrophies, which led to the overthrow of the public buildings and monuments in so many towns?

The German nations had long been repelled and subjected by the power and vigilance of the earlier emperors; but they never ceased to watch the frontiers of Gaul and to invade the rich and fruitful lands which tempted their ferocious nature and excited their home indolence into

* The *Bulletin des Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archéologie* (Bruxelles) contains M. Schuermans' valuable papers. Those on Arlon and its Inscriptions are especially relevant to the question under discussion.

rapacious activity upon foreign soil. These barbarians had coalesced for invasion in the time of Marcus Aurelius, who by vigorous efforts repulsed and subdued them; but they seem to have propagated by defeat and slaughter; and new multitudes of savage warriors soon supplied their decimated ranks. More or less effectively they were kept at bay by the generals of succeeding emperors; until the reign of Valerian and Gallienus, when the Franks and Alemanni penetrated into Gaul and Spain. Postumus for a season drove back these Germans and others; but they renewed the invasion after his death; and to this period of the afflictions of the province may be assigned, at least in part, the destruction of the great civic monuments the fragments of which at the present day surprise and delight us.

Probus, during his short but vigorous reign, delivered Gaul from the German barbarians, whose ravages may be, in some measure, estimated by the number of towns, *nobilissimas civitates*, they had captured. Vopiscus* says sixty; but in the despatch of Probus sent to the Senate the number is seventy. Although it is easy to refer to many similar fatal invasions, yet this vast and overwhelming one may be safely charged with much of the violent destruction of monuments, the effects of which we are speaking of.

The next consideration is the period when the walls such as we see in ruins, and from which the sculptures were taken, were rebuilt. This is not likely to have been

* "Tanta autem illic prælia feliciter gessit, ut à Barbaris sexaginta per Gallias nobilissimas reciperet civitates": in the despatch of Probus, "Septuaginta urbes nobilissimæ captivate hostium vindicatæ, et omnes penitus Galliæ liberatæ."—*Vopisci Probus Imp. c. 13, 15.*

long subsequently. The Roman Empire had great vitality even in its decline; and Probus was followed by some able rulers, under whom the provinces were freed from the humiliation of barbaric sway, and restored to prosperity. Under the heads of Cussy and Autun, in vol. v, I have referred to the reign of Diocletian and Maximian as the most favourable in regard to the restoration of the injured towns. Gaul, Britain, and Spain were assigned to the governance of Constantius; who, with his successor Constantine and members of the Constantine family, receive from history, for their patronage of the arts of peace, a worthier tribute than that given for their victories in war. The stability with which these walls enclosing the early sculptures are built, indicates a time of repose and settled government; and although it would be unreasonable to suppose that all the restorations of the overthrown towns were made at one and the same time, yet I think most, or many of them, may be ascribed to the reign of the above-mentioned emperors.

Where opportunities have occurred to admit of close examination, it has been noticed that the sculptured stones have not been used indiscriminately; but that they have been placed so as to give protection to the figures and to the inscriptions. This careful disposition of the sculptured stones was particularly noticed in the town walls of Bordeaux when they were pulled down. They contained a large number of sepulchral monuments, some of the most remarkable of which are given in vol. iv. This pious sentiment rested very probably with the workmen themselves: materials for building were wanted, probably an emergency was pressing; and the civic authorities had no feeling for the memorials of their townsmen, or they would have respite them from this premature oblivion. When, in the time of Francis I, the Roman walls of Narbonne were

pulled down, they were found to be extensively filled with monuments of all kinds pointing to some great antecedent calamity. The architect employed had the good taste to place these sculptures in the new wall; and so they were preserved. Some fresh alterations have lately been made, and many are now in the museum, where they can be studied, which was almost impossible, not only from the height at which they had been placed, but also from the filth and mosquitos.

In our own country we find very similar proofs of reconstructions made partly with monuments deemed important; but which, from invasions of the northern barbarians, had been shattered; for it is obvious that these savage nations systematically broke to pieces monuments of every kind: in their eyes they represented civilisation; and there could be no better incentive to the fury of vagabond multitudes. The Romans naturally, when danger appeared imminent and unavoidable, concealed the altars they had dedicated in gratitude to the gods; and to this pious feeling, no doubt, we owe the preservation of so many. In close vicinity to the great military post at Maryport, in 1870, were discovered no less than seventeen altars carefully buried, but in haste.* This was done in the face of some imminent danger such as that of the invasion by the Caledonians in the reign of Commodus; or during the general rebellion of the Northern Britons in the time of Severus. For some strategical purpose it is probable that the troops quartered at that station were removed; and, doubtful of what might happen, concealed these sacred evidences of gratitude to their divine pro-

* See Dr. Bruce's interesting report in the *Archæologia Eliana*, N. S., vol. vii, p. 184; and his *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 429, *et seq.*

tectors; and being assigned subsequently to some distant post, were unable to restore them to daylight; while their successors at Maryport neither knew, nor probably cared to know, about them. Very similar must have been the cause of the deposit of altars in a well or fountain at Procolitia, also situated on the line of the Great Wall, of which in a further part of this volume an account will be given.

Toulouse.—From its great historical importance, Toulouse is disappointing in its monumental remains of the Roman epoch. Like London, Paris, and other great cities which in defiance of disasters of all kinds have never ceased to flourish as the centres of mercantile adventure and of industrial arts, ancient architectural remains have been pulled down or absorbed by populations intent only upon making the most of all means towards animal existence.

There is the Garonne, as wide and deep as ever; but nowhere do we see the mighty walls of vast extent, constructed with tiles, such as were untouched and standing so late as the reign of Gratian, when Ausonius gave a place to Tolosa among illustrious cities:—

“Non unquam altricem nostri reticebo Tolosan,
Coctilibus muris quam circuit ambitus ingens,
Perque latus pulchro prælabitur amne Garunna.”*

The poet marks the fact of the walls having been built of tiles as a striking and distinctive feature. This fact is remarkable. From the scarcity of stone, or from some other cause, the tile work predominates to the present over a wide extent of this part of France. At Agen and at Auch it is so common and so exactly *more Romano*, that, at first, it is often puzzling to know whether it be Roman or not.

* Ausonii Clares Urbes: *Tolosa*.

The softness of the tiles and the mortar itself negative antiquity ; but the work is universal ; some very early ; some very late. At Colchester, to a limited extent, the use of tiles made after the Roman model has prevailed to a late time ; the custom is here quite exceptional.

It is in the Museum of Toulouse alone that the ancient city can be studied ; and not the city only, but the vicinity to a wide extent. This museum, formerly a convent, is spacious, and in itself a study for mediæval architecture and Christian iconography. It possesses an excellent catalogue by M. Ernest Roschach, which materially assists my Notes made in 1876 and during a previous visit. Corridor after corridor, hall after hall, are filled with sculptures from Toulouse itself, mostly from the town walls and towers, from public and private buildings, in which they had long served as materials for construction. But even more important are the architectural remains, sculptures, and inscriptions from the basin of the Garonne ; and from the district generally to the Pyrenees.

Martres-Tolosanes, on the left bank of the Garonne, at 60 kilomètres S.W. of Toulouse, has furnished a contribution astonishing for its extent and interest. It includes a series of imperial busts in marble, from Augustus to Gallienus ; a torso of Hercules ; a colossal head of the same deity ; a large number of torsos which have belonged to statues ; busts of divinities ; and of persons to the identification of whom no clue remains : some of the latter, probably all, were sepulchral, and were, no doubt, connected with some of the inscriptions ; but in some mighty catastrophe, they were intentionally separated by the hand of barbarism, never again to be united. There is a very fine bas-relief in marble of Serapis, whose worship, as coins also show, had become general in Gaul. Isis, Æsculapius, Harpocrates, Diana, Bacchus, Ariadne, Hygeia,

Naiads, Fauns, etc., help make up the mythological riches of Martres. Then we have a series of bas-reliefs representing the labours of Hercules. These fragments were found in excavating a grand rectangular hall, which there is every reason to believe was a temple to Hercules. They are in no instance complete; but they admit of easy identification; and, if not executed in the highest style of art, they are vigorous and characteristic, with curious details, such as are shown in plate xiii. This fragment belongs to the story of Hercules and Achelous. It no doubt represented the god strangling the ox, into which Achelous had transformed himself. The deity of the river is shown rising from his urn, and expressing his astonishment at the power of Hercules. Other bas-reliefs are the vanquishing of Geryon; killing the Lernæan hydra, and the wild boar of Erymanthus; at the stables of Augias; killing the birds at lake Stymphalis; the horses of Diomedé; the bull of Crete; the defeat of Hippolite; and the garden of the Hesperides: other fragments belong to this series, but are too mutilated to be assigned with certainty. Considering that the imperial sculptures conclude with Gallienus, and that Postumus adopted Hercules as his tutelary deity, it may not be deemed a wild theory to suggest that the destruction of the buildings at Martres was due to the invasion of the German barbarians soon after the death of Postumus. M. du Mege, to whose researches much is due, supposes that Martres represents the Calagorris of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, which occurs in the Iter from Dax to Toulouse; but this is a question requiring much care and circumspection, together with personal examination of the entire route. It is apparent that very many places of importance were never embraced in the scheme of itineraries.

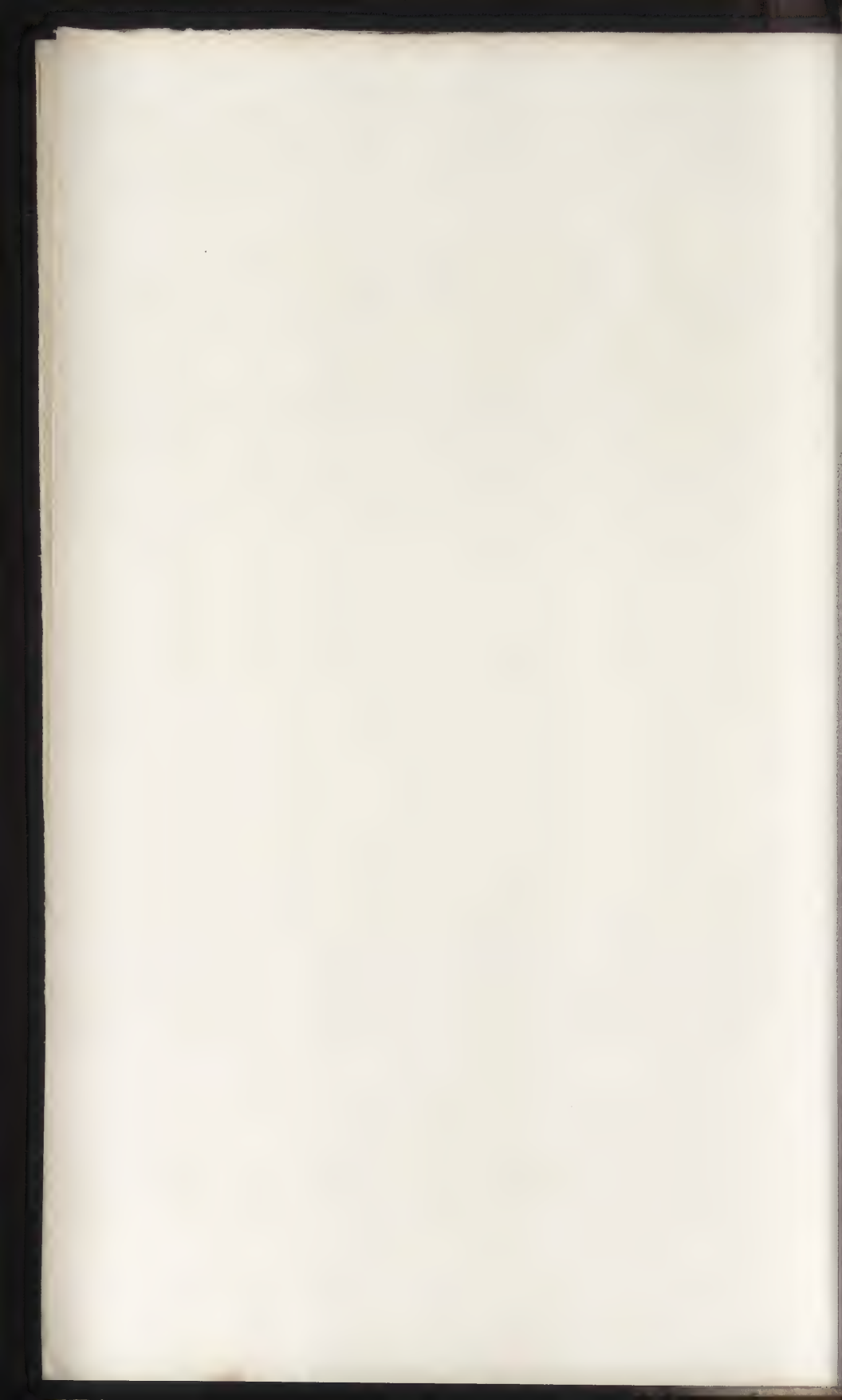
The tessellated pavement from Saint-Rustice, 25 kil. N.



TOULOUSE.



PÉRIGEAUX.



of Toulouse, although not in the highest state of art, is fine and striking from the bold and effective manner in which marine myths and animals are richly pictured in eight colours. One group illustrates the story of Ino in the sea; the personages being Glaucus, Palæmon, and Ino, identified by their names in Greek characters. Glaucus presents a child (Melicerta) to Ino, who receives it and prepares to suckle. Another compartment has the Nereid Doto, and a Triton, Nymphogenes. In other divisions of this spacious mosaic are introduced the Ocean, Thetis, Arethusa, Boreas, Panopea, etc., with marine animals of all kinds, real and fabulous. Another personage is the Genius of Sicily, possibly indicative of the parentage of the artist, whose name may have perished; for it is evident that, though so much has been saved of this grand pavement, many portions have been lost. In a fine mosaic found a few years since at Lillebonne, the artist has given his name and that of his native place, Puzzuoli. The use of Greek characters in tessellated pavements is common in Italy, Spain, and in the south generally; but not so in our own country. An example occurs at Aldborough, in Yorkshire, in one of the fine pavements published by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, in his *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, one of our best archæological works.

The inscriptions illustrative of the mythology of the district are particularly interesting. I give some of them from my sketch-book, collated with M. Roschach's *Catalogue*, which, however, does not contain all.

1.	2.	3.
HERCVLI	AGETOMI	BAESERTE
TOLIANDOSSO	DEO	DEO
INVICTO	ANTONI	HARBELEX
PRIMIGENIVS	VS VINDEY ?	HARSIF.
SEMBII.FIL	MIALIS.EX.VOTO	V.S.L.M.
V.S.L.M.	PO...	

4.	5.	6.
XVBAN	ISCITTO	ISCITTO
DEO	DEO	DEO
ACAN	HVNNV	SABINVS
V.S.L.M.	VLOHOXIS	MANDATI.
	FIL.	V.S.L.M.
	V.S.L.M.	
7.	8.	9.
BOCCO	BOCCO	FAGO DEO
HAROVSON	HARAVSO	ERDENIVS
MA.VALERIVS	NJ	ERDESGI.F.
FVSCINVS?	M.VAL.	V.S.L.M.
V.S.L.M.	FVSCVS	
	
10.	11.	12.
ALARDOSSI	ELIXONI ?	NARBOSIOBE
C.IVL.FVNIS ?	DEO	TAVRVS
V.S.L.M.	SECVNDII ?	SOSOMNVS
	NVS.VE	V.S.L.M.
	ECVNDI	
13.	14.	15.
ABELLIONI	ABELIONI	ABELLIO
DEO	DEO	NI
SABINVS	FORTIS SVLICIE	MINITIA
BARHOSIS	VO.....	IVSTA
V.S.L.M.		V.S.L.M.
16.	17.	18.
BAIGORI	DEO BVAI	EDELATI
XO.DEO	GORIX	DEO
VERNVS	ANDOSSV	SEXMIN
FRANI	SPIANDOS	APRILIS.ET
V.S.L.M.	OMV.IIL.P.P. ?	ALLIM.S F.
	V.S.L.M.	

19.	20.	21.
LAHE	LEHERENNI	LEHERENNO
DEAE	MARTI	DEO
CCA SA ?	TITVLLVS.A	MANDATVS
CRANI	MOENI.FIL.	MASVETI.F.
	V.S.L.M.	V.S.L.M.
22.	23.	24.
SEX	SEXS	EX VOTO
ARBORIBVS	ARBORI.DEO	SEXS ARBOR
Q. FVRIVS	POMPEIV	DEO
GERMANVS	CAMPANVS.	L.DOMIT
V.S.		CENSORINVS
		V.S.L.M.

This list, without much trouble, could be extended to hundreds in the district of the Pyrenees; and a volume would be required to embrace the vast numbers of a character perfectly similar, found throughout France and other countries, our own included, from the south to the extreme north. Generally, the names given to these deities are taken from localities, as Boccus of 7 and 8, from a place called Boccou; and Harausus from the valley of Arau; Baesertus (3), from Basert, near St. Bertrand de Comminges; and the same with many more; some, such as Toliandossas, applied to Hercules, have not been explained, rather from want of knowledge of the names of places in ancient times, than from any difficulty in the words themselves, which seem invariably to yield to the test of locality where it can be applied. Leherennus (20, 21), a Gaulish Mars, occurs on several altars found on the south of the Garonne. Fago Deo (9) and Sex Arboribus (22, 23, 24) show the prevalence of the worship of trees. The mountains are also addressed, in connection with Silvanus, as "Silvano deo et Montibus Nimidis"; and

also with Silvanus and Diana, "Dis Mont. et Silvano et Dianæ". The dedicators of these altars have both pure Roman names and Gaulish; and the same mixed nomenclature is common to the sepulchral and other inscriptions.

The *bas-relief* mentioned in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1835, part ii, p. 418, I could not see; and it does not appear in the *Catalogue*. It is stated to have been five feet in length and three feet in width; and to have been a representation of the triumph of the Tetrici, father and son; the buildings introduced being covered with inscriptions. As Nerac, near Toulouse, is given as the place of discovery, it might be expected to be in the museum of that town. What has become of it?

Bourges.—Bourges, wrote M. de Caumont in 1869, is a city of France, distinguished by disregard and disdain for the monuments of antiquity which it possesses. Twenty years ago, he asked for a humble shed to protect the fragments of architecture and the sarcophagi collected in the public place near the archbishop's palace. He was answered with promises that something better than a shed should be provided. Such is the usual answer of those who mean to grant nothing, and to do nothing. He found, after twenty years, the fine sculptures exposed as formerly; and the sarcophagi used for the worst purposes. You must be careful, he adds, where you step when you examine the lapidary collection of Bourges. He missed several interesting objects which he had noticed on his former visit; and many had been turned topsy-turvy. Some of these sarcophagi are of a date as early as the sixth century; several have the extremities sculptured with ornamented circles enclosing a cross and the Alpha and Omega; or squares with lozenges and a cross: others bear a simple inscription as HIC REQUIESCIT LVNIDIA; and

HIC REQVIESQIT BVDAR... .PVS (*Episcopus*). The museum is dark; the Roman remains, which include some sculptures, are in bad situations, and uncatalogued. The collection of sculptures in the public Place, covered by a wooden shed, is very extensive and fine; but no help is afforded towards its examination. The civic authorities have qualified themselves to deserve the character given them by M. de Caumont.

But notwithstanding difficulties, there is much at Bourges to repay a visit. The Cathedral; the Hôtel de Ville; a portal of the 11th century from a church destroyed, and other mediæval remains, would give a month's employ to an architectural draftsman and a profitable return if published. Nothing can surpass the splendid architecture of the cathedral. The principal façade is covered with sculptures of the best design and execution. Those representing the Last Judgment are conspicuous for their variety, grouping, and treatment of the subject. Demons of every kind are busily at work; some dragging their victims to torture; others blowing with bellows a fire to heat a cauldron. In the centre, a relief to the horrid forms around, stands Saint Michael, a figure of exquisite beauty, extending a hand over a youthful person, for whom a demon of larger size has put in his claim. This group is a wonderful picture. The demon sees it is in vain to contend; but his countenance shows a satisfaction in his power and success elsewhere, and he retires with a kind of dignified, ironical expression, which seems to say, "Well! if you insist upon it, it must be so."

The Hôtel de Ville was the mansion of a rich citizen, Jacques Cœur, of the time of Charles VII. It is unrivalled for its spacious and elegant structure, sculptures, and architectural details, all in good preservation. From ex-

cavations recently made, we were enabled to see that this noble edifice was built partly upon and into the Roman city wall. This wall, with a tower, are by far the best, indeed almost the only remains of the Roman circumvallation we could detect : good taste requires that the Roman masonry should be properly denuded of modern buildings ; but it is probable that it will soon be enclosed again.

Dijon.—Dijon, in its general aspect, has been well noticed by the late Mr. Fairholt, in vol. v, pp. 3 to 7 ; and a most interesting *bas-relief* drawn and engraved by him forms plate vi, in vol. vi. On a former visit, I was unable to obtain admission to the museum in consequence of its undergoing reparations ; but now there was no impediment excepting the want of a catalogue. Here, as in most of the towns of Roman origin, are the mutilated remains of sculptures and architectural monuments which formed part of the materials of the town walls ; and which were doubtless saved by accident, and rescued from an ignoble transfer to modern buildings. There are many sepulchral statues holding various objects in their hands. One, that of a female, holds a jewel case with the key-hole clearly marked, and a purse ; others hold a purse and a cup. There are also the sculpture of an infant in swaddling clothes ; a fragmentary *bas-relief* of a mason at work within the wall of a town, probably part of a sepulchral monument ; but all are disassociated from their inscriptions.

A large tile, stamped by the eighth legion, has the unusual addition of the maker's name :—LEG.VIII AVG. L.APPIO FEC. A fragment of another, imperfect, records a *Vexillatio* of a legion, probably the eighth :—VEXIL. LEGION.....

But especially interesting are the votive offerings discovered some years since, at the sources of the Seine, with

which I had been acquainted through the medium of M. Baudot's *Report*.^{*} The numerous engravings in this well-written work are sufficient to enable the reader to understand fully all the peculiarities of the subject; but there is a great satisfaction in being able to see the objects themselves, and thus to test the truthfulness of the illustrations. Long since, I introduced M. Baudot's researches to our own country, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*; but lapse of time has in no way lessened their importance; but, on the contrary, has increased it, for subsequent discoveries of a somewhat similar kind gain explanatory aid by comparison with the revelations at the sources of the Seine. Mr. Clayton's well-directed excavations in and around the *castrum* of Procolitia on the Roman Wall have brought to light much that bears a certain analogy to some of the facts disclosed by M. Baudot; and much that has points of divergence. As the two discoveries have already been compared, without a full knowledge of the circumstances under which they were made, and of the facts presented, it may be useful to recapitulate M. Baudot's *Report*. It will, no doubt, be properly estimated in all its bearings by Mr. Clayton in the account of his researches he is about to publish; and to which, as a kind of prologue, the information given by the eminent antiquary of Dijon will direct attention.

The sources of the Seine, the chief of which are three, spring from the lower part of a straight valley in the parishes of Saint-Seine and Saint-Germain-la-Feuille; and are 2 kilomètres distant from the high-road from Paris to Besançon; 8 from Saint-Seine; and 32 from Dijon. The aspect of this valley, remote from human habitation, is

^{*} *Rapport sur les Découvertes Archéologiques faites aux Sources de la Seine*, par M. Henri Baudot, 4to, Dijon et Paris, 1845.

wild and dreary. From the bottom the Seine winds its murmuring course as a small stream through a long solitary tract, until at Billy, aided by tributaries, it assumes the importance of a real and living river; for, at the sources and for some distance, in very dry seasons the waters disappear, giving a still more melancholy tint to the landscape's solitude.

The first excavations were made near the sources on the north of the valley. At the depth of about a foot and a half the workmen laid open the foundations of an edifice, the importance of which was soon revealed by the numerous objects collected. The plan of the foundations gives a quadrilateral of about 58 yards in length; the width, from the destruction that had taken place, could not be positively ascertained; but the preservation of three sides leaves no doubt as to the exterior form of the monument, the front of which faced the east. The interior was distributed in several *cellæ* or chapels. In the middle of this edifice, or temple, as it proved to be, was a hall in which sprang the sacred source, which ran in a stone channel covered with flag-stones. The chapels had all been decorated with columns, rich marbles, mosaics, and wall-paintings. The exterior had been ornamented with columns of the Corinthian order, the dimensions of the capitals of which indicated a high elevation; and their execution and that of the other architectural remains showed a good epoch of art.

The objects taken from the ruins may be briefly classified as, 1. Statues in stone of life-size. 2. Statues and bas-reliefs in stone, of a size less than life. 3. Figurine in bronze. 4. Statuette in terra cotta. 5. Heads which belonged to statues or busts in stone. 6. Busts in stone, 34 in number. 7. Two busts in bronze. 8. Three busts in baked clay. 9. Children in swaddling clothes, in stone.

10. Hands in stone which have never belonged to statues, but which are, as the other objects, votive. 11. Legs, single, in pairs, and, in one instance, six. On one of the eleven single legs is part of an inscription, the well-known formula V.S.L.M., *votum solvit libenter merito*. Another leg has an inscription dedicatory to the goddess of the Seine. 12. Feet, single and joined, in stone. 13. Vows and coins in an earthen vase. 14. Animals in bronze and in bone. 15. Fibulæ, rings, and miscellaneous objects.

In one of the little chapels, and almost at the surface of the ground, was an earthen vase, hermetically closed with a plate of lead. An inscription round the neck showed that this vase had been given to the goddess of the Seine by a person named Rufus :

DEAE SEQUANA RVFVS DONAVIT.

This vase contained another much smaller, cup-shaped, with a handle, on the outside of and around which were amassed 120 *ex-votos* cut from thin plates of bronze and silver. Those in bronze, some of which are gilt and silvered, are cut to represent different parts of the human body. Many of them are torsos and the sexual parts of men and women ; and a large number are punctured to denote eyes. On many of these plates are small nails which show they had been attached for exposure to the view.

The smaller vase contained about 850 coins, the earliest of which is of Augustus ; the latest of Magnus Maximus ; the larger number of Postumus, Victorinus, and the Tetrici. Two are in gold, Aurelius and Julia Domna ; the rest in brass and billon. It is remarkable and suggestive that there are only three coins of the Constantine family. *Most of these coins are in the highest state of preservation*, a fact of the first importance, indicating that the votaries of

the goddess Sequana had selected the newly-struck and the freshest ; and conclusive, I think, in an opposite direction, in relation to the deposit of coins in the fountain of Coventina, near Procolitia, and to the probable motives of the depositors.

There are two votive altars, one not wholly legible ; the other addressed to Sequana (AVG. SAC. DEAE SEQ.), by one Flavius or Flavianus for the health of his grandson ; and a gold ring, flat and octagonal, inscribed D.SEQVANE CLE. IOLA, V.S.L.M.

M. Baudot considers that the destruction of this temple was effected not by the barbarians, but by the Christian proselytes. It was destroyed, not plundered. Had pillage been the object, the numerous valuable contents would not have been left behind ; and there would have been no object in beheading the statues and in mutilating everything conspicuous that savoured of paganism. Of more than thirty statues in stone two alone are left perfect ; the rest are without heads, and more or less broken to pieces. Incendiarism followed the destruction of the monuments : proofs of this were palpable in the charcoal, and in the melted glass and lead : one leading thought alone seemed to have propelled and animated the destroyers, and that was thoroughly to efface all visible signs of an odious religion.

The whole of the remains from the temple of the goddess of the Seine are carefully arranged in the museum ; but they can only be studied in their full measure of interest by means of M. Baudot's well-illustrated work.

Boulogne-sur-Mer.—In volume i, I gave an account of an altar to Jupiter Dolychenus doing service as a baptismal font, at Halinghen. The sketch, from which the etching, plate viii, was copied, was made at night under most

unfavourable circumstances. The monument is now in the Boulogne Museum, and well placed for close inspection. I find that my etching is correct, with the exception of the second letter in the first line, which I and others have given as an I,—*Eideo Iovi*, etc. This, I have now no doubt, was a T; but a chip in the stone has removed the upper part of the letter. The altar was sawn across just above the line which now stands first; and the commencement of the inscription was removed. This, we are justified in believing, was NVM. AVG., or AVGG., or the name of some other deity; and then followed ET DEO IOVI, etc. The engraving in the *Proceedings of the London and Middlesex Society*, 1874, p. 145, must also be rectified.

The peculiarly interesting remains from a *vicus* on the coast near Etaples, described also in volume i, were formerly kept together in the museum; and, like the relics from the temple of Sequana in the museum of Dijon, they were instructive in local life and habits; but now they are unfortunately separated and placed in various cases merely as works of ancient art; consequently they sink into comparative insignificance.

ROMAN LEADEN SEALS.

PLATES XIV AND XV.

IN addition to the plates of Roman leaden seals given in vols. iii and vi, Mr. Robert Blair kindly contributes six examples recently discovered at South Shields on the site of a Roman castrum which was laid open by excavations for building purposes. These seals, first made known in these volumes, have contributed novel materials for archaeological opinion and research, and have excited much interest from the variety of the abridged inscriptions they bear; and from the fact that they were found in very large quantities at one particular place, Brough in Westmoreland; and but sparingly at a few other places, to which South Shields is now added. Not one example has been noticed in the extensive discoveries made in London and in other large towns of Roman origin both in this country and on the continent; while they may in some cases have been passed over disregarded, it is impossible that objects so remarkable, if ever discovered, could have been generally overlooked. The localities which have hitherto supplied these seals were military stations; and it is very obvious that most of them have a military character.

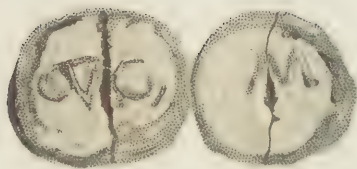
In fig. 1 of the South Shields specimens we have LVI, which may be assigned to the sixth legion. Fig. 2, CVG., may be interpreted *cohors v Gallorum*, the fifth cohort of the Gauls. Fig. 3, AVGG., is suggestive of the time of Severus, the heads apparently denoting those of Severus,

PLATE XIV

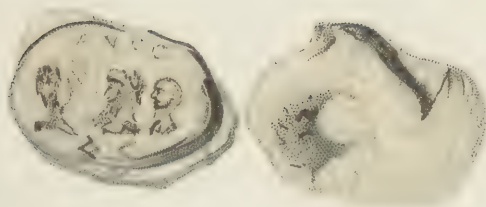
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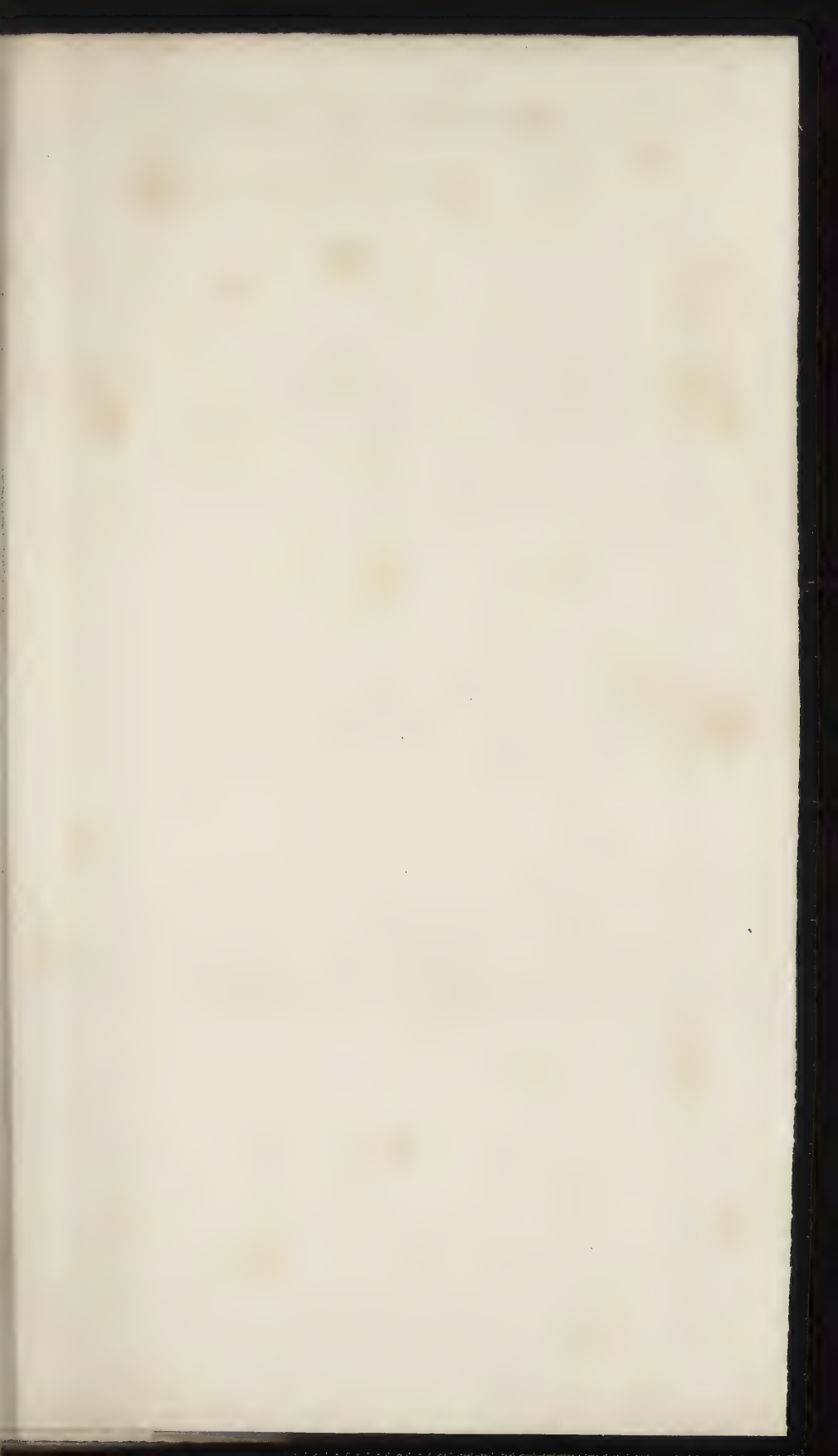


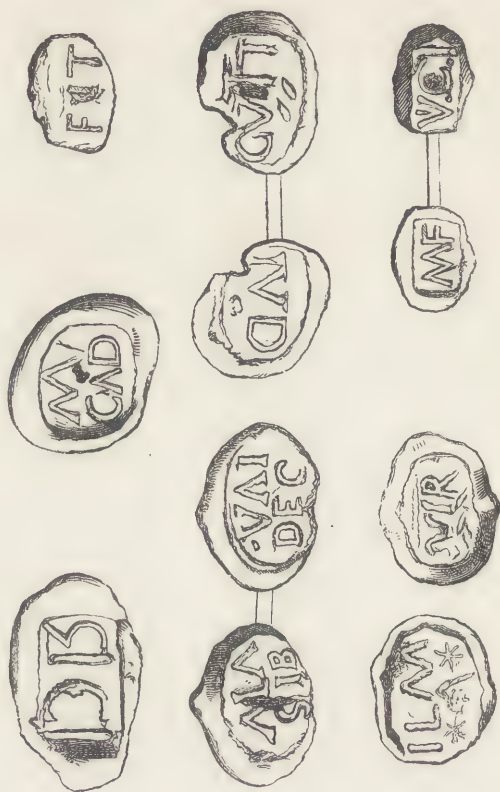
6



ROMAN LEADEN SEALS
FOUND AT
SOUTH SHIELDS







ROMAN LEADEN SEALS FOUND AT BROUGH, WESTMORELAND.

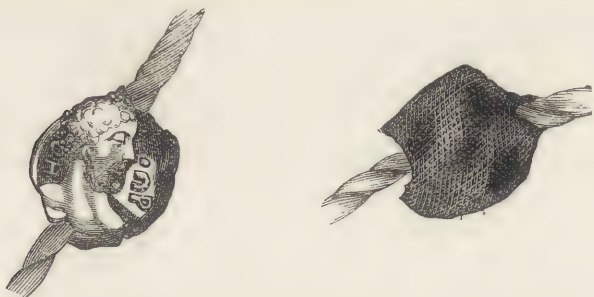
and his sons, Caracalla and Geta. Fig. 4 is in an imperfect state; the heads can only be conjectured as imperial; and, as Mr. Blair thinks, of the Constantine family. Fig. 5, ASA, may be read as *Ala sabiniana*; the VRN is not so easily explained. Fig. 6 seems allied to fig. 9, pl. xxxii, vol. iii.

Fig. 1 is clear enough as to the L.VI, "Legio Sexta"; there are some with LEG.II, vol. vi, pl. xvii, figs. 1 and 2; but the letters VAO are yet uninterpreted. It is as likely that they should be reversed, in which case we get OVA. That these seals were appended to merchandise, of probably many kinds, there can be but little doubt; yet as no others seem to warrant any special signification, this had better remain among the undecided. The reading of fig. 2 as *cohors v gallorum* derives confirmation from inscriptions on tiles found also at the castrum at South Shields which read COH CV.G. A more laconic style was used by the Fourth Cohort of Gauls in quarters at the castrum recently discovered at Templeborough, near Rotherham, in Yorkshire; there the formula is CHHG.

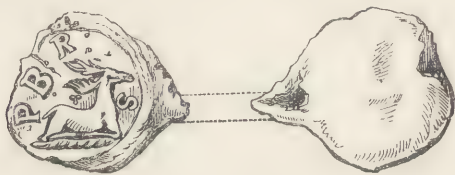
In volume iii I have referred to two examples still attached to strings which fastened the bandages of a Greek mummy. They appear to be of the times of the Antonines, and the heads seem imperial: the lettering may denote the marks of merchants. By the courtesy of Dr. Birch I am enabled to give cuts from sketches I made, which, although not quite satisfactory to me, will demonstrate the use to which these seals were applied. The whole of them are made precisely in the same manner as the leaden seals in France and Italy which are at the present day fixed for authentication to merchandise and even to luggage upon railways. The earliest and the latest Papal *bullæ* are also identical in make;



and, indeed, the principle upon which these as well as the mediæval seals in wax fixed to charters and other docu-



ments, is one and the same in all, modern and ancient. The cuts used to illustrate some remarks by me in the *Proceedings of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, have kindly been lent me by the Council, together with the subjoined, a new and interesting variety communicated to me by Mr. J. T. Irvine.



It was found on the site of a Roman building at Combe Down, near Bath. The Rev. Prebendary Scarth has discovered evidence in the vicinity of the smelting of lead by the Romans at the Mendip Hills, which are not very remote; and it is probable that this seal may have been officially attached to masses of lead as a guarantee. With this view I have suggested that the inscription may be read *Plumbum Britannicum Signatum*.

I am further indebted to the London and Middlesex Archæological Society for some examples of the seals found at Brough, from the collection of Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith. They illustrated a Paper by Mr. H. C. Coote,

F.S.A., printed in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1872-1873, p. 120, to which Mr. Ecroyd Smith contributed another plate, previously communicated by him to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (*Transactions*, N. S. vol. vi). Mr. Coote has given a most interesting account of the use of leaden *signacula* for the identification of soldiers; but I doubt if the badges worn by them round the neck were identical with the seals found at Brough and other places in this country; still at all events, Mr. Coote has introduced to us a passage in the *Acts of the Passion of Maximilianus*, a martyr of the third century, which shows that under certain circumstances leaden signs were affixed to the necks of soldiers on entering upon military service.

Several of these seals (plate xv) resemble some in the plates of our preceding volumes, with some slight variations, they may possibly serve to elucidate when further examples are obtained. The fourth is a new variety. It may be read ALA SEBosiana; or ALA SABiniana; which is the correct reading can only be determined by further evidence. The reverse would seem to be VALens or VALerius DECurio.

Inscriptions on the Roman Leaden Seals described in this and in the preceding volumes.

LEG.II	—	.EXR	CVII	}	—	{	MV
LEG.II	—	.EXB ?	TR	}	—	{	CAD
LEG.II	—	.X	CVII	}	—	—	
LEG.II	—	.VI.	TMD	}	—	—	
LEG VI	—	.OVA	CVIIT	—			PERS
			CVIII	—			PERS
CSNS	—	—	CVIII	—			C.V.P.
CTB	—	{					
		IVC					
		MAR					
CLV	—	—	ALA	}	—	{	VAI
			SIB	}	—	{	DEC

CIIN	} —	a griffin.	ASA	—	VRA
TR			AV	—	—
CHII	} —	AELCO	A.LV	—	—
NER		MINI	ACSD	}	—
CHIAE	} —	AEL.CO	VES		
*VIO		MINIS			
CIINE	} —	Stork	L.V.S.	—	—
R		and Vase.	V.S.D	—	—
CIIN	} —	Figure	GICI	—	—
ER		seated.	...VD	—	PRIS
CHIAE	} —	AEL	IIS	—	IND ?
*VIO		COMINI	GER	—	—
CV		FL.	BFC	—	X
CVLR ?		FLM	LICC	—	EX
CVTR	—	IVD	M.F	—	V.C.
CVIR	—	CAD	ILM	—	VIR
CVITR	—	FL.M.	IVBD	—	—
CVID	} —	M.C.	LQS	—	OFP.
TR		D	FIT	—	—
CVII	—	CVEP			
CVII	—	O.V.S.			
CVIIT	—	TVD			
CVIITR	—	ZABD			
CVII	} —	{ M			
TR					
		XDX			

* Indication of a letter before the VIO.

BRITISH OPPIDA AND ROMAN CASTRA.

AMONG the inherited errors of the older school of archæology is that of confounding the British or Celtic earthworks with Roman camps. This mistake, which is yet very common, must have arisen from want of a little reflection on the circumstances surrounding British life; and also from insufficient attention to the historical facts which help us to understand the Roman policy in the subjugation and tenure of Britain; and, further, from not studying Roman strategy and fortification in the remains which are abundantly extant.

In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and in other periodicals, I have from time to time endeavoured to point out this general error; and to simplify the question still afloat by a few observations pointing to broad and marked distinctions between British *oppida* and Roman *castra*, which seem to me so weighty and palpable in their evidence as to leave no room for further doubt or misconception. I now return to the subject with the hope that further illustrations and remarks will ensure the consideration I believe they deserve.

Lingfield Mark, in Surrey, is one of the many peculiar fortifications which have been accepted as Roman; but which certainly belong to the class of British *oppida*. It is situated in a district which may be called wild and somewhat difficult of access. My visit to it, some years

since, with the late Mr. G. R. Corner, involved the necessity of our staying the night at Edenbridge, from which it is distant about four miles south. It is about three miles from Lingfield; and a little more than three miles from East Grinstead. Reference to maps will show that the district is but scantily populated.

The Camp, as it is called, is in form nearly a parallelogram, with rounded corners; and it contains within fosses twenty-six acres and a quarter. The fosses, originally three, are now reduced in parts to two; and, on the north side, to one; on the west side they are about twelve feet; and, in other places, from seven to nine feet. The innermost rampart, measured from the bottom of the fosse, is in the highest part from sixteen to eighteen feet. When entire, they must have measured nearly nine acres; so that the entire *oppidum* must have occupied about thirty-five acres. The interior is now divided into three fields separated by wide hedges. Water was obtained from a spring on the north side.

The entrenchments are now so much covered with underwood, that there is some little difficulty in ascertaining which are the ancient entrances, and which are those made for agricultural purposes. Of the eight or nine openings, six appear to be ancient: those cut obliquely are certainly of the original construction.

This grand fortified position possessed all the requisites of a British *oppidum*; but not one of the essential objects of a Roman *castrum*. While the site was appropriate to the former, there would have been no possible reason, at any time, for the Romans throwing up in such a locality so costly a work, requiring a large army to defend it. But there is no evidence whatever of their having even occupied the *oppidum* temporarily, for such evidence would have existed in tiles and masonry: not even a coin has been found there.

did exist there can be no doubt; that traces of some of them may yet be seen is probable; but more searching investigation is needed by practised explorers physically as well as intellectually qualified. On the Surrey side of Lingfield for a great distance the land is undulating and wooded; so it is to the south direct; and also towards, and including, Kent and Sussex. The *Itinerary* of Antoninus, which leaves untouched a wide extent of this part of Britain, while it does not exclude the existence of roads, is very significant in showing that the great military thoroughfares were far beyond, on the east and west; and although we have discovered this *via* direct from Chichester to London, other routes, as before observed, remain to be certified.

The *oppida* called Oldbury and Holwood, at no great distance from Lingfield, may here be mentioned.

Oldbury is one of the larger class of British *oppida*, as its area is full 123 acres, and its circumference two miles.* It must be seen and fully examined before the engineering skill of the constructors can be properly estimated and the peculiarities of the defences, natural and artificial, adequately understood. It is situated upon elevated ground, some 600 feet above the level of the sea, overlooking a vast extent of rich and beautiful Kent. On the south, and towards the east and west, it is so defended by precipitous sandstone rocks as to be impregnable; and consequently here no fosse or rampart was needed; but on the north, and partly on the east, is the usual defence of a formidable rampart and fosse. There were probably three, if

* I visited it on one of the few warm days of June last, in the company of Messrs. Courtney Lord and John Harris; under the guidance of Mr. Benjamin Harrison of Ightham, whose intimate acquaintance with the locality and the details of the *oppidum* greatly facilitated our researches.

not four, entrances; one of the two most conspicuous is cut in an oblique and crooked direction through the rocks, or cliff as it may be termed; and was thus easily barred by a small defensive force against a host of assailants; the other entrances could be effectually closed by felled trees ready at hand, and which afforded a barrier easy of construction. In the interior of this great fortress is a spring, no doubt the source from whence the inhabitants and their cattle were supplied with water.

Oldbury is at no great distance, a half day's walk perhaps, from Lingfield Mark Camp; and it is at an equally accessible distance from Holwood near Bromley, to which I am about to draw attention. These three *oppida* may all be examined in one day; they are comparatively unknown, although they are among the grandest of our early monuments, historical as well as pre-historical, for from their extent and strength they may be accepted as strongholds of some of the British chiefs or *reguli* who so boldly opposed the invasion of Caesar.

Holwood is on the high road from London to Westerham, near Keston, and not far from Hayes and Bromley. The *oppidum* abuts on the road, and is wholly enclosed in a park and grounds attached to the mansion built for the residence of William Pitt, the celebrated statesman. The landscape gardener, to whom was entrusted the laying out of the ground, sacrificed the greater portion of the *oppidum*, which occupied nearly 100 acres, to his taste for the picturesque. At the present day, perhaps, a more refined judgment would have preserved the fine bold outlines of the triple circumvallation in all their noble grandeur, and have converted the area into a lawn and gardens, keeping the ramparts as a background and protection, while preserving the amphitheatric contour in its entirety and impressiveness. But on the side of the mansion, and also on

the north and south, the ramparts have been leveled; the area has been planted with trees, and so have the remaining valla, and the place now presents the appearance of a wood or labyrinth. Still, near the high road at the entrance, enough remains of the deep fosses and high ramparts to show the original importance of the *oppidum*.*

It is needless here to review the various opinions which have been printed respecting Holwood. Almost in every case these earthworks have been called Roman. One writer has even called them *Saxon*; to be corrected by another, who terms them *Roman*! Very frequently they are mixed up and confounded with Roman remains at Keston, near Holwood, explored by Messrs. Kempe and Crofton Croker; and more recently by Mr. G. R. Corner.† These remains show the existence of a populous *vicus*, such as are found here and there, all over the country; but in no way likely to have been connected with the British *oppidum*.

Walbury, Essex.--So long ago as 1865, I communicated to *The Gentleman's Magazine* a notice of a very interesting example of British *oppida*, but little known; for an introduction to which I was indebted to Mr. Francis Rivers. I repeat the remarks I then made on the character of this great earthwork as they show my convictions are based on matured consideration.

Walbury lies about midway between Bishop's Stortford

* In the early part of the autumn of the present year, I had the honour of attending the Kent Archæological Society within the Holwood *oppidum*; and of receiving, at the close of my remarks, in a vote of thanks, the concurrence with my views, of Mr. George Warde Norman, whose friendly and hospitable services on my visits to Holwood, I am glad of an opportunity to acknowledge publicly.

† See *Archæologia*, vols. xxii and xxxvi.

and Sawbridgeworth, upon an eminence overlooking the river Stort. The surrounding fosse is of great depth and width, and is well preserved, except where, on one side, it has been filled up for agricultural purposes. On the side facing the Stort are postern entrances, intended for easy access to the water for horses and cattle and the general use of the residents. The extent of ground enclosed is thirty acres.

Salmon and Morant both consider Walbury to have been a Roman camp; and having thus made up their minds, they bring forward evidence in support of their opinions, not reflecting that this evidence is both inconclusive and antagonistic. The Hon. R. C. Neville, in his *Sepulchra Exposita*, p. 47, also terms it a Roman camp. He gives a report on it, made by Mr. Frye of Saffron Walden; but Mr. Frye ascertained that no Roman remains had ever been found there.

Walbury is a fine and good example of the fortified places, which, as I before observed, are usually called Roman. Hasted, in his *History of Kent*, writes: "At Oldbury (near Ightham) there are the remains of a very considerable entrenchment, which is, without doubt, of Roman origin. It is of an oval form, and contains within its bounds the space of 137 acres." It would seem that a consideration of the number of troops required to defend these camps called Roman had never entered the minds of those who have so termed them. Such places would be mere traps in which weak garrisons could be captured at any time by a strong besieging force; and situated, as most of these earthworks are, it is difficult to understand what strategic purpose they would have answered in the hands of Romans. Hod Hill, in Dorsetshire, is an interesting exception; but that is not of Roman origin; the Romans used it, and drew their camp within it; but at Walbury, Oldbury, near Igh-

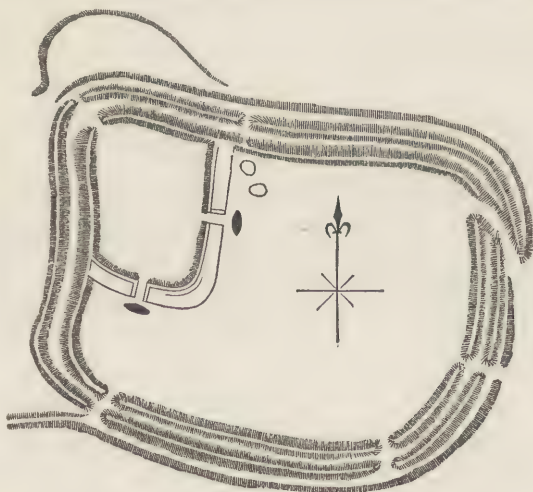
tham, and other similar places, we never find the slightest Roman remains, such as are always met with where Roman soldiers were stationed. If we consider these strongholds as British, they can be well understood. They are sufficiently extensive for a large population, and for the protection also of cattle and horses; in short, we may recognise in them British *oppida*, and this view is identical with that of my friend Mr. Charles Warne, who has studied so clearly and so successfully the ancient earthworks of Dorsetshire. Thus much of Walbury I printed in 1865.

No one has ever yet attempted to calculate the number of British or Celtic *oppida*; they must be reckoned not by hundreds, but by thousands. From the vast space which very many occupied, it is obvious that they must have served the joint purpose of military fortresses and settled dwellings. Most of these here described or referred to, were spacious enough to contain multitudes of inhabitants, with provisions in grain and cattle for the winter's use, or for a siege. In case of an enemy ravaging the neighbouring country, cattle, sheep, and horses could be protected to an almost unlimited extent. It is probable that the timbered and thatched houses, for dwellings, with barns and stables, were perfected to a degree far higher than what we can well form a notion of. No remains of these are now to be seen, and to restore in the imagination, where even outlines and shadows have vanished, demands patient and persevering attention and deep thought. Nor must the requisite physical strength be overlooked. It is true that carriages and horses may do something; but in very many instances it will be found by those who may be led to study these interesting monuments, that they are not to be thoroughly examined but when approachable on foot and by good pedestrians.

By the kindness of my old friend and colleague, Mr.

Charles Warne, I am enabled to give plans of British *oppida* in Dorsetshire, from his *Ancient Dorset*, the best work of its kind that has been printed of late years ; and unique as regards descriptions and illustrations of the early earthworks of the country. They are not only rendered intelligible by clear narrative, the result of a life of personal examination and study ; but they are well shown by plans and plates, the latter admirably drawn by the late George Hillier, and as effectively engraved by Mr. J. G. Waller. As there are leading features common to all these earthworks throughout the kingdom, Mr. Warne's volume is indispensable to a study of these important but comparatively neglected monuments, and even the general educated reader will be interested in viewing by his fireside, without toil or cost, the dwelling places and fortresses of our Celtic predecessors, even if he should not be able or willing to visit them.

Hod Hill, near Blandford, with its extraordinary and



various Roman remains, almost wholly in iron, has been given at considerable length in the preceding volume (vi) ;

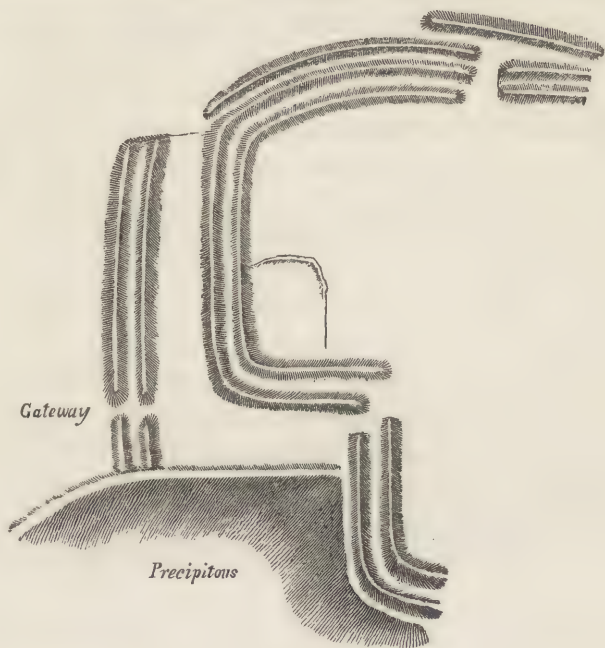
but the plan is here repeated for the convenience of directing attention to the special bearing of this chapter, assisted by the author of *Ancient Dorset*, whose description is as follows :—

“The principal earthworks which cover the whole of the plateau (about fifty acres in extent) consist of a double rampart with corresponding ditches. These are again bounded by a weak vallum, much worn down, and carried round three sides of the hill ; but as the hill rises almost perpendicularly to the altitude of nearly 600 feet above the river on the west and part of the south sides, embankments were not needed, and give place to escarpments. The ramparts vary very considerably in strength, the inner rising about 26 feet from the level of the area to the apex, and descending 62 feet to the bottom of the fosse on the interior, and 32 feet on the exterior side. The approach to the interior is by no less than six entrances, but of these not more than three at the most appear to be original. The chief entrance is at the north-east angle, carried diagonally through the ramparts. The entrance at the south-western angle afforded communication with the river. It is protected for some little way on its descent by an extension of the outer vallum, and there is a low breast-work in advance of the entrance.” Mr. Warne, from comparison with other British earthworks in Dorset, considers that this of Hod Hill is comparatively of late date. Within and without the ramparts he has noticed indications of early dwelling places, some of which were cut through in removing the soil to construct the ramparts.

Hod Hill is further and peculiarly remarkable for evidence of Roman military occupation, and that, as seems to be proved by the date of the coins and the absence of masonry, of no very long duration. Within the British works was a Roman camp. Not many years since it was in com-

plete preservation, but it has since been in part destroyed. It was a parallelogram with a double line of entrenchments about four feet deep, with two entrances, each protected by a breastwork in advance. It was, when I saw it, quite perfect, and as Mr. Warne observes, "a model of Roman castrametation". Its destruction in these days of archæological science, seems a satire on the loud and constant avowals of anxiety for the preservation of our national monuments.

"At the eastern extremity of the Vale of Blackmore stand the isolated hills of Hod and Hamel-Dun, the sen-



HAMEL-DUN.

tinels, as it were, of the pass by which the valley is entered on that side. Separated by a very narrow space, they rise abruptly to a great height, and have their respective summits crowned with entrenchments. Although these are, in

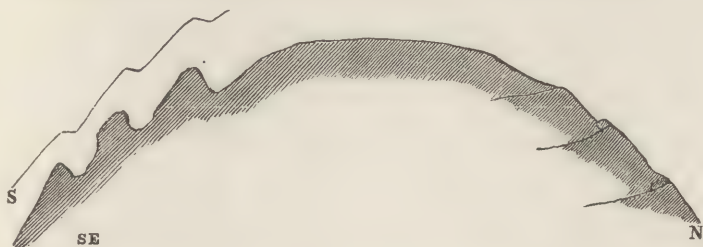
my opinion, of different ages, and possibly of peoples, I do not hesitate to classify them with works of the early British or Celtic period, which, as is well known, extended over many centuries. We are unable, indeed, to determine at what point of pre-historic time that period began ; but we know, however, that it ended when history became an established fact.

“ Of these works, Hamel-Dun is by far the earlier of the two ; yet how high soever its antiquity may be, the hill on which it is situated has its turf impressed with vestiges of still earlier occupations, consisting of low, time-worn banks dispersed over its south-east side, and on the part overlooking Shroton. The principal entrance is on the south-east. Near the east side of the hill it is carried through two ramparts which are thrown in advance of the main work. A large open space intervenes between this gateway and the main entrenchments. These likewise consist of two lines of embankments parallel with the advanced works until opposite the point of entrance, where they turn off at an acute angle to the left, and lead into the area. By this arrangement the actual entrance becomes suddenly contracted into a straightened path of great peril, from the verge of the hill on its right side being, by a little scarping, converted into a precipice, while on the left, the entrance is flanked, as before observed, by the return of the ramparts. Of these ramparts the outer is comparatively low, and commanded by the inner, which is of great solidity and height. Another entrance is on the south side, to arrive at which we retrace the inner ramparts round the end. It is not so complex as the other, as may be seen by the plan.

“ From this point the side of the hill becomes very abrupt, and the entrenchments are gradually modified, being either formed by escarpment or built up as the exigency of the ground required. They are thus carried round the west

and north sides, where is another opening apparently of a later date, until they form a junction with the works on the east quarter, which is so extremely precipitous that the defences on this side consist only of escarpment.

"Hamel-Dun has an elevated and convex surface, the natural effect of which is that the area of the camp lies considerably above the level of the entrenchments, in fact overlooks them, except at the south-east end where the ramparts crossing the hill are raised to a great height.

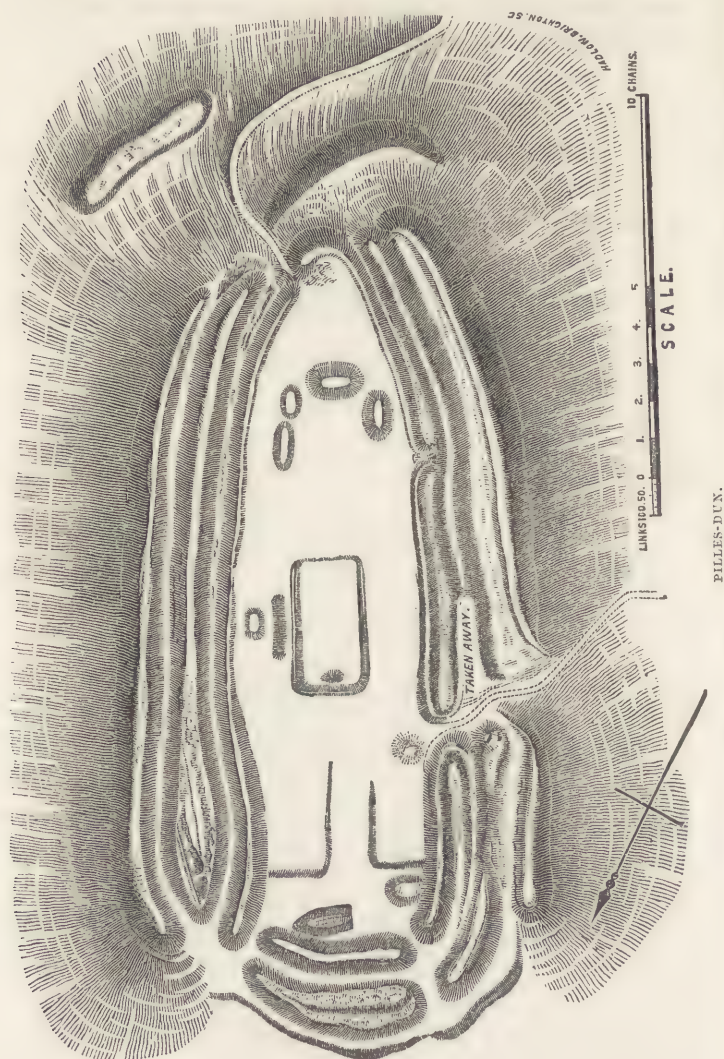


"The marks of early occupation within the camp are not so distinct as in many other works of a similar kind; but a large mound, which may be sepulchral, forms a prominent object. The area is also traversed by a lofty irregular vallum and fosse, the object of which is not obvious. This work in no wise harmonises with the general plan, nor can we suppose it to have formed the original boundary, as the ramparts betray no signs of interruption or extension at any time subsequent to their construction. The extent of the circumvallation is about three-quarters of a mile from east to west.

"Pilles-Dun Pen affords another example of British *oppida*; of far smaller dimensions than many, and adapted like most to the natural configuration of the site.* "Pilles-Dun Pen is a lofty table-land overlooking the country for

* I am indebted for this plan conjointly to Mr. Warne and to Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, author of *The Book of the Axe*, etc.

miles around, and comprising within its scope the Roman castrum of Lambert Castle and the strong Celtic camp of



Conig's Castle, both near at hand ; while in the distance may be seen Powerstock Castle, the entrenched heights of

the more extensive Eggar-Dun, as well as that striking object, the hill fort of Shipton. The defensive works, occupying the southern extremity of the headland, consist of a triple line of ramparts and double fosse. Of the three lines the innermost are by far the weakest, with the exception of the northern end, where it is very high and strong; but stronger still is the middle line of circumvallation, while the outer, with its intervening fosse, is only slightly less imposing, and acquires additional strength from the precipitous sides of the hill.

“There are three points of access to the interior, namely, on the south-west, north-west, and north-east. The first is the principal; here the middle vallum on either side is flanked by a platform, and the inner bends round to terminate in the area. The entrance at the north-west has also its inner vallum, in like manner supported by wide platforms. The north-east entrance is the smallest and of less importance. The area contains between eight and nine acres; is 400 yards in length by 132 in width. It presents many features deserving attention, for instance, at the northern end are two large hollows, which I think are natural reservoirs fed by natural springs, so that in its supply of water Pilles-Dun possessed an advantage over most of the other works of its kind in Dorset. These hollows are bounded by a low bank, and two slightly raised and parallel ridges proceed thence some way into the interior.

“Somewhat south of the principal entrance, and in the centre of the area there is a small rectangular earthwork, probably of Roman construction. Advantage was taken of a long mound to incorporate it with the western vallum, while adjoining the eastern vallum is a similar mound, about forty yards in length by some three yards in width. Between this small earthwork and the south end

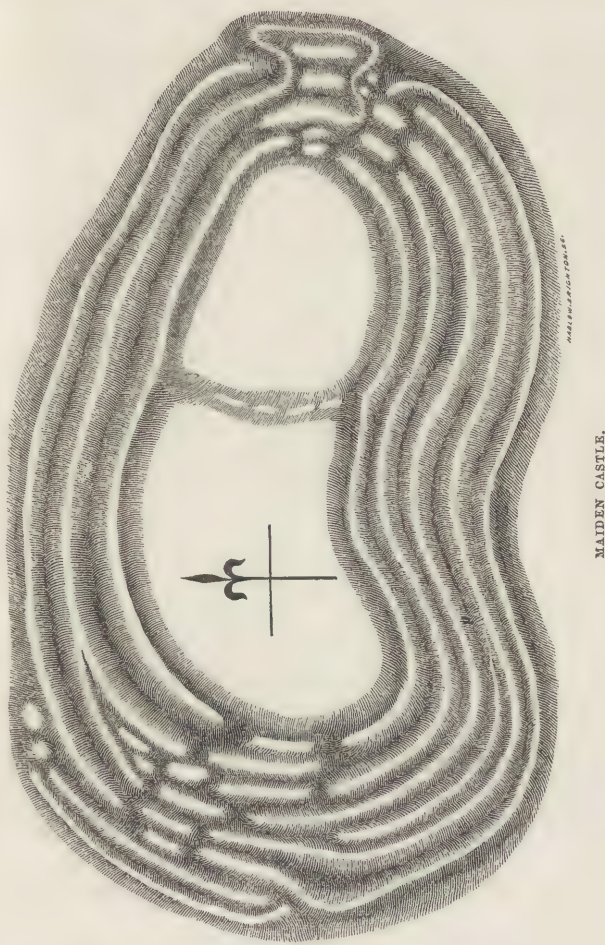
are two other mounds, one on either hand from fourteen to sixteen yards in length, also three tumuli. Still nearer the south end, other and apparently more recent disturbances of the surface are perceptible, probably the site of a mediæval or still later beacon. The long mounds and tumuli may, with some reason, claim an earlier antiquity than the great work itself. The hill, the highest in Dorset, is 934 feet above the level of the sea.

Maiden Castle.—Mr. Warne's lucid account of this extraordinary earthwork is the most explicit, and in every respect the best that has been published. His descriptions will be aided by the wood cut from *Ancient Dorset*. For a view the volume itself must be referred to.

“The plan of Maiden Castle, which occupies an area of nearly 160 acres, is a long irregular oval extending 1000 yards from east to west, with a width of 500. The several defences are adapted with much judgment to the parts they are intended to protect. Thus, facing the open plain on the north, there are only three tiers of ramparts, with intervening ditches, the side of the hill not allowing space for more; but to meet this contingency they are of the grandest proportions, the valla measuring no less than sixty feet from the apex to the base, and so steep that it is impossible to mount them otherwise than by an oblique ascent. On the south there are no fewer than five lines of entrenchments, all works of great labour, yet bearing no comparison with those of the opposite side. A remarkable fact here attracts our attention—namely, that with the exception of the inner vallum, the others are left in an unfinished state, and it is strange that no former observer should have drawn attention to it.”*

* Mr. Warne, elsewhere in his volume, suggests an explanation.

“ There are two principal and original entrances ; the one at the western, the other at the eastern end. Both are protected by such a complex arrangement, that the attempt



to describe them without a ground plan would be a failure. I have therefore inserted one here. (See above.) The eastern entrance has the advantage of position, being at

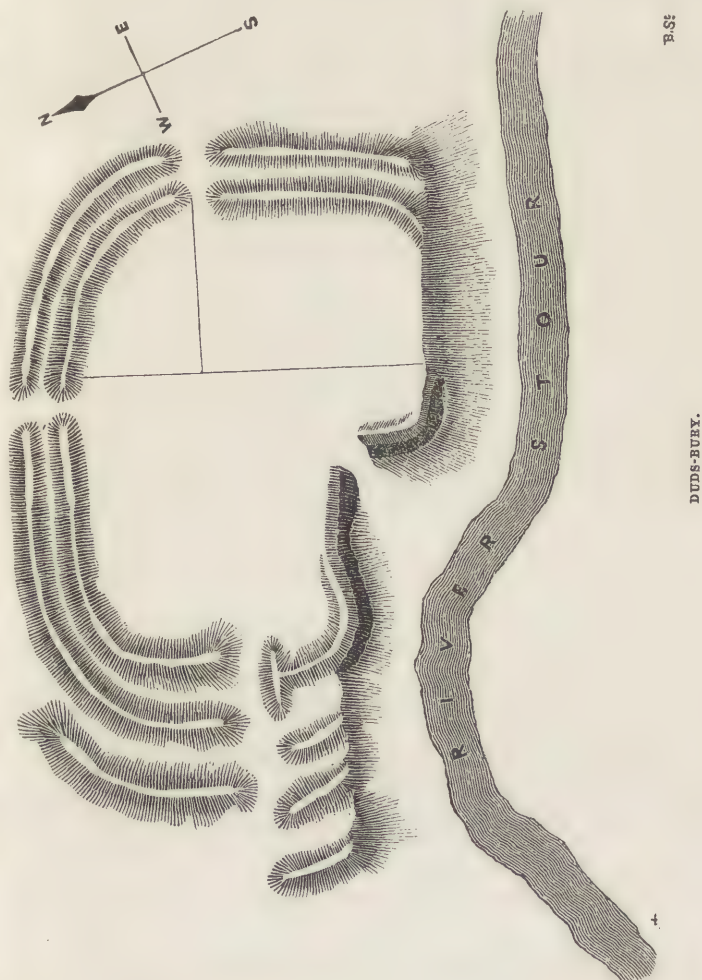
the extremity of the hill. It is guarded by the concentration of five or six ramparts of various lengths overlapping and covering each other so as to render the ingress of an enemy a work of great difficulty and danger. At the other end the approach is nearly on a level ; but this defect has been amply compensated by additional outworks, there being no less than eight or nine distinct ramparts or deep ditches, and all so skilfully arranged that access to the interior has to be made through a labyrinth of defences. These entrances form the most conspicuous feature of this noble stronghold, and this masterly arrangement presents such evidence of skill as to stamp them with the character of *chefs d'œuvre* of Celtic engineering."

Within Maiden Castle vestiges of Roman occupation have been found. As Mr. Warne observes, "the discovery of Roman remains in a Celtic camp is a matter of no uncommon occurrence in Dorset, and cannot be accepted as a proof that the work must necessarily be attributed to the Romans, nor even that it had been occupied by them ; it simply testifies to the fact of Roman intercourse with their Celtic neighbours." As described in *Ancient Dorset*, the foundations of buildings, pottery, coins, etc., are such as may be assigned to tillers of the adjacent land, and, probably, to workers in metal as at Hod Hill.

Dudsbury.—Mr. Warne considers Duds-Bury as one of the border fortresses of the Durotriges, and of secondary rank in comparison with many of the works of this people. Yet it occupies high ground, and had the advantage of commanding a good supply of water, the river Stour flowing at its base.

"The main defences consist of double entrenchments and ditches, which are strongest and deepest on the south-east, that being the most vulnerable side of the position, and opposed to the Belgæ. Here the outer vallum is

lower and wider than the others, its crest having evidently been levelled, the work, as it would seem, of later years, and probably of the time when the trees now growing on

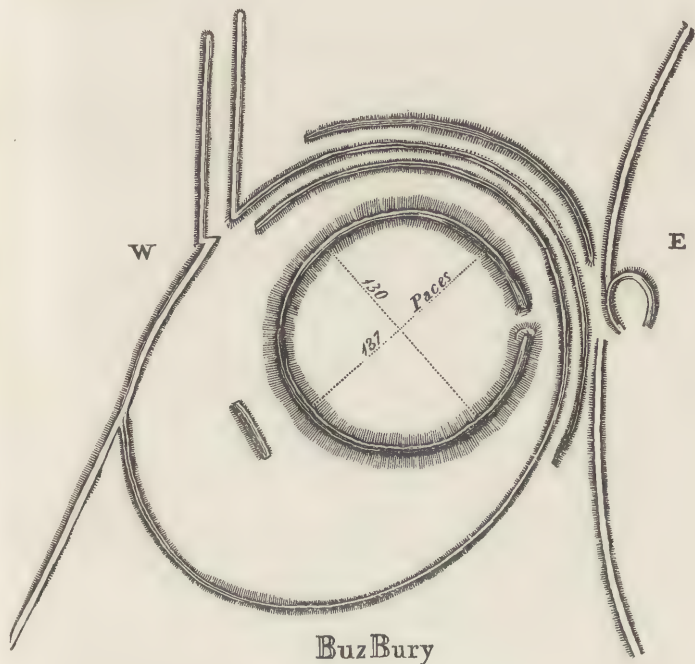


it were planted. The entrenchments on the north are partially levelled by the plough, and would soon have disappeared had not Sir Ivor Guest been fortunately made

acquainted with the work of destruction. As lord of the manor he immediately gave peremptory orders that not another spadeful of earth should be removed. The works are continued round to the south-west end, where the principal entrance is carried through the ramparts, the extremities of which greatly curve inward. The defences on the right hand on entering, have a short vallum of equal height at right angles with them, partially closing the intervening fosse.

“At the north-west of the entrance, the works are supplemented by a third vallum, which extends nearly 150 feet, and then is lost by gradually sloping to the level of the field; while on the south-west side there are traces of three or four others, which extend from 50 to 100 feet, and then die out, as the ground falls rapidly to the river. On this side the position is very precipitous; hence this portion is protected by a single vallum only, with a scarping below for half the distance, and the same completes the remainder of the defence in this quarter. Here, also, it may be seen that the inclination of the ramparts inward leaves a narrow space between their ends forming a kind of postern, which may be called the water-gate, from its leading down the steep bank to the river below, by a sharp and gradually widening zig-zag pathway, flanked on either side by a low well-formed terrace. The vallum runs at right angles with the opening for the distance of about 150 feet, when it takes a sharp bend, and is carried parallel with the river to the south-east corner. Along this portion there is nothing but scarping, from the vallum (which is but slightly elevated from the area) to the river side. From the water-gate, until well round the angle, the terrace is very clearly defined. The communication between the river and the pathway from the water-gate is now interrupted by a low cliff, the destructive result of natural agencies. The area of the

camp, at a moderate computation, may be about seven-and-a-half acres.



"This interesting little *oppidum* is situated on Keynaston Down, near the turnpike road between Blandford and Wimborne; and at the distance of two miles from the former place. The central portion is an area measuring 130 paces from east to west, and 137 from north to south; and surrounded by a single vallum, through which there is an entrance from the south-east. There is also an exterior vallum thrown around in an elliptical form, enclosing a considerable space, as at Bad-Bury, on the north side of the central area; and advancing towards it from the south the two extremities of the vallum overlap each other to the extent of half the circumference of the ellipse. On this same side there is also a short additional outer val-

lum, thus forming double and treble defensive works. The entrances are between the extremities of the valla, on the east and west; the former giving access to the central enclosure, the latter giving ingress to the trackways approaching from the north and south-west.

"The central area is strongly marked by disturbances of the soil, and many circular depressions denote the sites of ancient habitations. On digging into them, fire-hearths, fragments of coarse pottery and animal bones are brought to light. No such vestiges are met with in the larger or exterior area; whence it may be inferred that here, as at Bad-Bury, we may recognise a provision intended for the security of the flocks and cattle of a pastoral people, when the shades of night had fallen on their pastures.

"The only remaining object that attracts attention is situated without the earthwork, on the south-east side, and has certain peculiarities that require special notice. At first sight, it bears a strong resemblance to a ransacked tumulus; and its concave sides may, with a little effort of the imagination, give it the semblance of a miniature amphitheatre. I should have hesitated mentioning this little work, had I not seen precisely similar examples elsewhere; there was one, for instance, on Came Down, but it has been destroyed. The Rev. J. H. Austen kindly directed my attention to another of the same kind, called 'The Pound', or 'Church Hayes', adjacent to the ancient British village on Woodcotes Common. It is a counterpart of this at Buz-Bury, with the exception of being nearly double the size. With such a resemblance between them, it is reasonable to conclude that their uses, whatever they may have been, were the same. It is not improbable that they served as places for rustic sports and games in connection with the settlements they adjoined. They certainly bear an appearance of antiquity much

greater than those mediæval earthworks* which were devoted to the popular games of the peasantry, such as cock-fighting, badger-baiting, etc.

"The entrenchments of Buz-Bury are by no means strong; which circumstance, coupled with the fact of its site being on an elevated plain offering no defensive advantages, supports the conclusion of its having been the abode or homestead of a pastoral people. The outer vallum was, in all probability, wattled for securing the cattle; and the work itself may be supposed to have resembled one of the kraals of Southern Africa, as described by modern travellers.

"Although Buz-Bury is much smaller than Bad-Bury, there is still a decided analogy between them; and, like Bad-Bury, it appears to have kept up a lively intercourse with the numerous settlements around. A perfect network of trackways may be traced, with more or less distinctness, connecting it with the remains on Blandford Down, East-Bury, and Vindogladia; with Bad-Bury, Bloxworth, and also Charlton Down."

Towards the east, beyond the limits of Mr. Warne's researches in Dorsetshire, are many British earthworks, including, perhaps, the grandest of all, well known as "Old Sarum", which was occupied by the Romans; it is the *Sorbiodunum* of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. Being in the line of a great military road from Calleva (Silchester) to Isca (Exeter), it was secured as a station, and within its fosse of a hundred feet in depth, was built the usual rectangular *castrum*.† It is, however, unlikely that any

* Of these mediæval works, one of the finest was, a few years ago (and I hope still is), on Chiselhurst Common.

† It was not until I had visited Old Sarum several times, that I discovered a fine fragment of the wall of the *castrum*. It has been asserted, but no evidence is shown, that the

strong military force was permanently quartered here, from the entire absence of inscriptions; for they are almost, or quite, inseparable from long hostile occupation.

On the south coast, and particularly from the neighbourhood of Lewes, to the north of Brighton, Worthing, and Chichester, the high lands or hills are crowned with *oppida*, several of which are of large extent and remarkable for the skill shown in their construction. Most of them, if not all, follow the natural formation of the sites; and where it is possible consistently with perfect security, to save labour, the fosses are shallow. Thus the Devil's Dyke, near Poynings, which is a mile in circumference, is sufficiently protected to the north by the steep ascent of the hill; and also towards the south-east; and on these quarters the fosse is throughout modified to take advantage of the natural steep inclination of the ground; but, on the south and west, the works are strong, and, facing the only possible point of attack, and that of limited extent, could be most effectively defended.

Cissbury, to the north-east of Worthing, is one of the noblest of a long series of hill-fortresses or *oppida* on the south coast, and the best known. It is surrounded by a formidable vallum and rampart, varying, as usual, in depth and height, according to the natural features of the hill.*

Romans walled the entire area within the vallum. My belief is, that the massive fragment is part of a square fortress. Excavations can alone determine the question.

* Colonel Lane Fox has contributed to the *Archæologia*, vol. xlii, two interesting papers on the "Hill Forts of Sussex". In these he not only gives the result of his personal researches, but he materially simplifies the study of these monuments, by correcting many erroneous views in previous writers. The derivation of the name Cissbury from Cissa, one of the historical or traditionary Saxon invaders of Britain, must be received

Chanctonbury, to the north of Cissbury, and about eight miles westward of the Devil's Dyke; Wolstanbury, Ditchling, and other hill-forts in this part of Sussex, are all well worth examination, and no guide to them is so good as Colonel Lane Fox's papers in the *Archæologia*, vol. xlii.

St. Roche's Hill (popularly Rooks's Hill and The Trundle), about four miles to the north of Chichester, and adjoining the Goodwood Racecourse, is, perhaps, one of the least known of the Sussex *oppida*, although it is not one of the least remarkable. It occupies the entire summit of a high hill, is about 300 yards in diameter, with the usual strong entrenchments. The approach to this grand work from Chichester by Lavant, is exceedingly agreeable and impressive, from the gradually increasing proportions of the lofty hill crowned with the *oppidum* which, as the ascent is long and steep, is only fully developed after the pedestrian has pleasantly spent some time and toil.*

with caution, or rather with suspicion and doubt. With Cissa, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, came Wlencin, bearing a close similitude to Lancing, a locality to the west of Cissbury; and subsequently a Port landed at Portsmouth; other invaders have names also identical in the localities, suggestive of the very reverse of the popular derivation. Chichester, also assigned to Cissa, is far more likely to be the abbreviated form of a word beginning with *Ci*, sounded as *Chi*, to which the Saxon *chester*, as in the case of almost all Roman walled towns, was added.

* My visit was in the autumn of the present year, in the company of Messrs. John Harris and William Law, the former of whom acted as guide, and introduced to us, *en route*, near Goodwood, a remarkable earthwork, which, for miles, he and I had explored in a westerly direction. This has never yet been thoroughly explored. It is said to extend from Warbledon to Arundel; but, although we have traced it for miles, much yet remains to be explored before the assertions in regard to its extent can be verified. It is not unlike a highly raised Roman

The sources of water which supplied these *oppida* have been the subject of speculation, because, in many instances, they are not at the present day apparent. At St. Roche's Hill, on the eastern side, at one spot only, the rank growth of nettles and other plants indicates water beneath; and in some other *oppida* I have noticed similar appearances.

On the south side of the hill are rectangular earthworks, which may be Roman. They are precisely such as the Romans would throw up for a temporary encampment; and they may denote strategical preparations in relation to an investment of the *oppidum* itself, at a very early period, when the southern Britons were being subjugated.

When we add to the *oppida* just mentioned, that so well known near Folkestone, under the popular misnomer of *Cæsar's Camp*, and the sites now occupied and almost defaced by the castles at Dover and at Hastings, we have reviewed most of the chief strongholds on the south coast of Britain which opposed an ineffectual and brief resistance to the Roman legions. Farther inland are others yet requiring investigation, which, I hope, ere long they will receive.* Two, however, on the line of the great military road, may be noticed here: the one because it has been supposed a Roman work, and the other because it was only discovered a few years since.

The first of these was, we cannot say *is*, at Syndale

road; but its circuitous course seems to have been regulated by the natural features of the districts through which it passes. As an ancient boundary, it seems satisfactorily intelligible.

* Prominent among them is the great earthwork in Bigbury Wood at Harbledown, of which an account was first given by Mr. R. C. Hussey in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. ix, p. 13. Mr. Hussey appears to be the discoverer. He is certainly the first who has published a clear account of it.

near Ospringe, because the entrenchments have been almost entirely levelled. The site is perhaps better known by the modern name of Judd's Hill. From old descriptions and what yet remains, there can, in my opinion at least, be no doubt of its British origin; and its claim to the site of the station *Durolevum*, or to the site of any Roman station, will not bear criticism. We have as yet found no remains of a *mansio* or *mutatio* (not a town as asserted); and this is not unusual with stations which were not walled; but the distance, as given in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, requires its location nearer Canterbury; and the name, *Durolevum*, unquestionably demands its adjacency to *water*. The mere discovery of coins "and other matters" only shows how extensively and completely Cantium was populated; for such evidences occur everywhere. Ospringe, or somewhere nearer Faversham, or even Davington, may represent this subordinate station. Stone Chapel is unquestionably of Roman origin; but quite disconnected with the Roman station,* wherever it may be.

The second is in Cobham Park and within the garden and grounds of Lord Darnley's mansion. I have given what may be considered a sufficient notice of it in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xi, p. 121. Though three-fourths of the entrenchments are levelled, enough is left to show its extent and importance. It was discovered a few years since by Mr. Warne and myself; a fact significant and suggestive.†

I have entered a wide field of interesting research as yet but very imperfectly explored, with a view to indicate its

* I must not omit to acknowledge the courtesy and hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Hall on the occasion of a visit about two years ago by myself and friends to Syndale and Stone Chapel.

† About the same time Mr. Warne discovered a fallen cromlech in the centre of a field on the other side of Cobham Park.

importance, and to direct attention to the very loose way in which Roman and British works are spoken of and confounded the one with the other. The few examples of *oppida* which I have given may be enough for my present purpose; but it must be understood that they belong to a class, varieties of which I have not noticed; as for instance, *oppida* with uncemented stone walls, as at Worle Hill near Weston-Super-Mare (illustrative of the defences of the camp of Caractacus as described by Tacitus), and at Warden in Northumberland, not far south of the Roman wall at Great Chesters; and, indeed, all the *oppida* of the Northern Britons which present some peculiarities both in original construction, and when utilised by the Romans for permanent camps.

Although British *oppida* are continually confounded with Roman *castra*, the reverse is not common, because the Roman permanent camps were walled and their remains are yet extant to speak for themselves. Where the natural features of the ground did not require modification, their plan was uniformly a parallelogram; usually a square, or approaching it. In Scotland, on the line of the Wall of Antoninus, the circumvallations of the *castra* are of earth, sometimes based upon stones. They demand a special study; as do the great stone walled *castra* on the wall of Hadrian.*

In the south of Britain, inscriptions, the groundwork of so much historical information, are extremely rare. In the wide district surveyed in the preceding pages only three or four localities have afforded them. The dearth is to be accounted for in the fact that rapidly after the Roman conquest this part of the province flourished in peace and

* Indispensable to the study are, Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*; Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; Roy's *Military Antiquities*; and Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*.

security. The legions and their auxiliaries were permanently quartered in the north and west; and to them we owe most of the important inscriptions which have contributed so much towards the history of Roman Britain.

The walled *castra* in which these forces were distributed are of especial interest both from the precious memorials they have furnished and from what they may yet be expected to supply, for only a few have been fully explored; and many, no doubt, remain undiscovered. It is only very recently that three have been brought to light, two of which seem to have been altogether unknown; and the third, though known, not understood. Of the last I will first speak.

Templeborough.—Horsley, in the *Britannia Romana*, page 482, thus writes:—"Between Rotherham and Tinsley, about three miles from Sheffield, are the sure remains and evidences of a Roman Station, usually called *Templebrugh*, situated near the river Don. An account is given of it in *Camden* (p. 847),* where it is said to be about 200 paces long, and 120 broad; and the trench very large, being 37 paces deep from the middle of the rampart to the bottom. I have also had a particular account of it transmitted to me by an ingenious friend (the Rev. Mr. Anger). According to him "the area of the fortification is not half so large as represented in *Camden*; and the nearest part of it to the river is about 30 or 40 yards distant from it. The fortified ground is called *Castlegarth*, and *Templebrugh* is the name of a meadow adjoining to it. The fort is still very entire; the rampart and ditch very large: it is now in pasture, but was in tillage about 15 or 16 years ago; when, it was said, a great number of coins were thrown up by the plough, and some urns were also discovered. The

* Gibson's *Camden*, 1695.

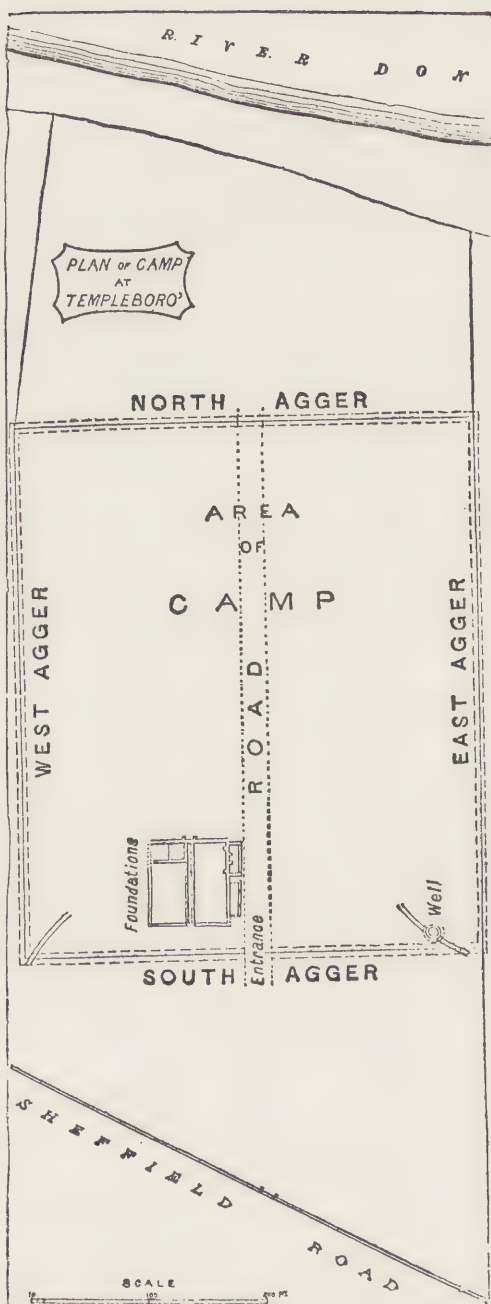
ground is very strong ; and pieces of Roman pots and bricks are everywhere very visible." Perhaps the meadow ground, called *Templebrugh*, has also been fortified ; or the town may have stood there. As I find no name for this station and town in *Ptolemy*, or the *Itinerary*, I choose to assign the name *Morbium* to it. The order of the *Notitia*, and, as far as I can discern, other circumstances too, concur to strengthen the conjecture. Particularly, the military way (if it be one) which seems to have come from Doncaster to this station, is very favourable to this opinion. The account in *Camden* is a little confused ; however I must refer to what is there said of *Winco-bank*, *Danes-bank*, and *Kemp-bank*, having had no opportunity of viewing and examining it myself."

Mr. J. Daniel Leader, and the Rev. John Stacey, have recently set on foot excavations, which, although not yet completed or prosecuted to any great extent, have confirmed Horsley's opinion as to the character of the remains ; but not so as regards the ancient name of the place. At *Morbium*, which he supposes it to represent, was quartered, according to the "*Notitia Imperii*", a body of heavy-armed cavalry soldiers under a *Præfect* (*Præfectus equitum cataphractariorum Morbio*) ; but hitherto the only inscriptions discovered indicate that the fourth cohort of Gauls had at some period of time made it their quarters. This would not be conclusive against the place having been *Morbium* ; but there are other reasons for doubting it ; and there was a military station at Moresby in Cumberland which may lay claim to it. The inscriptions recording the fourth cohort of Gauls, are on tiles in a very abbreviated form, C.III.G. This cohort, when the *Notitia* was compiled, was quartered at Vindolana, Little Chesters, on the Wall. It is most probable that it was at Templeborough at an early period and anterior to its mission to the north. The

excavations, Mr. Leader states, show that the *castrum* had undergone great vicissitudes; the stone wall which had originally surrounded it had been removed; and at some subsequent time had been replaced by an earthen agger. In cutting through this, the first inscription was found on a fragment of a tile.

The plan, for which I am indebted to Mr. Leader,* shows the extent of the *castrum*, the portion excavated, and a building

* From *Explorations on the Site of the Roman Station called Templeborough; October to December 1877*; Sheffield, 1878; and a paper also by Mr. Leader in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiii, p. 503 *et seq.*



of some public kind, much dilapidated, in which columns had been used, and which appears to have been heated by a hypocaust. It bears resemblance to the substantial edifices generally discovered in Romano-British *castra*, in most of which we may recognise the remains of barracks. While writing I receive a letter from Mr. Leader in which he observes:—"Since the plan was drawn we have found the foundations of many buildings between the south agger and the road. We have also found the foundations of the columned building extending further northwards; and, in one of the apartments there, two rows of flue tiles *in situ*. We have also cut trenches across the area between the main road and the wall; and found no remains of buildings; only a roughly bouldered surface. The remainder of the *castrum* is untouched."*

South Shields.—About four years ago excavations for buildings led to the discovery of an important *castrum* which contributes materially to our knowledge of the auxiliary stations on the line of the great Roman Wall, already so much advanced by the researches of Dr. Bruce, Mr. Clayton, and a few other leading members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The Rev. Dr. Hooppell has published an account of the discoveries made;* and, I infer that the Society just mentioned will also print a report (illustrated) embracing remains recently brought to light.

While Templeborough does not yet reveal its ancient name, the *castrum* at South Shields, if it does not definitely

* The excavations are carried on by the aid of subscriptions, which have hitherto been adequate; but further aid is required, and it is hoped this will not be withheld. Reports will be from time to time sent to the subscribers.

† *Discovery and Exploration of Roman Remains at South Shields in the Years 1875-6.* 8vo. London and Newcastle, 1878.

point to the site of one of the *Notitia* stations, goes far towards it. This station is *Tunnocelum*, a cohort called *Ælia Classica*, under a Tribune, being stationed at it. This cohort, surnamed, without doubt, from Hadrian, was comprised of marines, *classiarii*, of whom there were other cohorts and also legions; and being adapted, like our own marines, for warfare *per mare per terram*, a maritime station is to be looked for in the *Tunnocelum* at which we find them quartered. The presence of *classiarii* have been traced at Dover, at Lymne, and at Boulogne;* and both historical evidence and inscriptions in foreign parts attest their importance. Camden places it at Tynemouth; Horsley and others at Bowness. Hodgson seems to leave the site unsettled. Many years since, although ignorant of the immediate district, I printed the modern equivalent as Tynemouth,† solely from the name as indicating a station on the Tyne, and probably at its mouth; and coupled with it the *Cohors I Ælia Classica*. It must now be considered how far this new discovery will influence or decide the question.

Horsley was aware of the existence of a station at South Shields. He speaks of the altars found (one of which has been published by Dr. Bruce in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*), and of the *via*, called *Wreken-Dyke*, leading to and terminating at it. It is somewhat remarkable that with such facts before him he came to no conclusion; but the vast work he had undertaken in his *Britannia Romana* explains and excuses any deficiencies and errors which, however, are but few. In my copy of this great work is a marginal entry which shows that Dr. Hunter had his eye upon the place:—"Wreken-Dike I hope will conduct me

* See *Report on Excavations on the Site of the Roman Castrum at Lymne*, 1852.

† *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 199.

to a new station. If no unforeseen busyness does prevent me, I intend, next week, to make a search after it, which, as Chester only depended upon *Pons Ælii*, may discover another belonging to South Shields." The *castrum* is now laid open sufficiently to show its extent and character. As from the situation might have been expected, the buildings and the external walls are in a state of dislocation and ruin, having for centuries been worked as a quarry for building materials, but enough remains to show its original grandeur, and to justify the preservation of what is left.

A considerable number of fragments of tiles have been found stamped with the mark of the Fifth Cohort of Gauls, COH.V.G.; and leaden seals, previously described: (see page 66 *ante*, and plate XIV. While the tile-work proves that the Fifth Cohort of the Gauls was permanently stationed here, it in no way affects the question of the probability of the place having been *Tunnocelum*, at which, when the *Notitia* was compiled in the state it has come down to us, the Cohort *Ælia Classica* was in garrison.* Dr. Hooppell gives upwards of sixty varieties of Potters' Stamps, nearly all, if not quite all, of which may be found in the list of my *Illustrations of Roman London*; and in the *Collectanea Antiqua*. While at Templeborough only a few coins have been found, at South Shields many hundreds have been collected. They extend from the consular period to the reign of Arcadius. The altar referred to, as published by Horsley and Dr. Bruce, is dedicated to *Jupiter Conservator* (but the usual initials I.O.M. were either omitted or have become defaced), for the health of Caracalla, on account of his return (to Rome) *ob reditum*, by some per-

* Dr. Hooppell states that other tile-inscriptions, with the letters A.C. (*Ælia Classica*?), have been found.—Journal of the British Archæological Association, September 1878.

son whose name has been intentionally erased while the altar yet stood as a memorial.

From what was the site of the centetery of the *castrum* has just been excavated a sepulchral monument, for a rough sketch of which I am indebted to Mr. Blair. It is in compact sandstone, four feet in height, and two-and-a-half feet in width. The sculpture is of a superior kind, designed with good taste, and ably executed. It represents a female figure, intended for the deceased person, sitting in a chair apparently of wicker-work, beneath a decorated recess, on either side of which is a Corinthian column. The lady, for such her costume indicates her to have been, bears in her hands objects described as flowers; but of this I may express a doubt; and on her left side a basketful of fruits, as stated; but of this also there may be a doubt. The face has been intentionally destroyed, a fate to which the early Christians consigned all the Pagan monuments they could get access to.

Beneath are two inscriptions: one in Latin, in three lines, with some palpable grammatical blunders not uncommon in such compositions; and one, in Syriac or Palmyrenic, in a single line. When a bilingual inscription does occur, the second is usually a copy or reflex, often abbreviated, of the first; and such is the case in the present instance. The important inscription is as follows:—

D.M.REGINA LIBERTA ET CONIVGE
BARATES PALMYRENVS NATIONE
CATVVALLAVNA AN .XXX.

The faulty Latinity in no way impedes a perfect understanding of the meaning, which is, that the monument was erected by Barates Palmyrenus (a native of Palmyra), to the memory of his wife Regina, a freed woman, aged

thirty, who was of the nation, or *civitas*, of the Catuvellauni.

One of the chief points of interest in this inscription is the information it gives that, at a comparatively late period, probably the middle of the third century, the British States retained a nationality, and were recognised as *civitates*. They were regarded, evidently, as communities enjoying the full rights of Roman citizens. For the work of the Great Wall and its fortresses, in the reign of Hadrian, inscriptions show that four British states, including the Catuvellauni, supplied contingents.*

Another important feature is the evidence of mercantile connection between the remote province of Britain and the East. Other monuments point to the continual movement of hostile forces from the West to the East, and from the East to the West; and there is historical testimony to prove commercial relation also; but our northern Lapidarium cannot show among its hundreds of sculptures one like this, connecting the East with North Britain, and Palmyra with South Shields. Such discoveries, made by chance, lead to sore reflections on the rejection by the Society of Antiquaries (through the late President) of the Duke of Northumberland's generous offer to open these hidden treasures of antiquity to the world by systematic excavations. Palmyra was a centre of commerce, through which passed the choice products of Arabia and India to the Western Empire. It exported glass, spices, silks, gems, linen, richly-worked vestments, and other Oriental luxuries, until, abandoning commerce for war, it fell beneath the devastating sword of the Emperor Aurelian. Barates, it may be inferred from the costly and artistic monument erected to his wife, and from the absence of any allusion in the inscription to military matters, was a

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 175.

merchant who had settled in North Britain at the mouth of the Tyne, a locality so peculiarly favourable for transmarine commerce.

The accessories to the seated figure, so far as I can judge from sketches, appear to have relation to domestic life and to represent implements of weaving or some other feminine hand-work; on her right, is a large box or chest, bound at the corners with metal, and at the upper part a plate with a key-hole. It has in front a crescent, probably intended as a complimentary emblem of the virtue of the deceased.

Irchester.—This *castrum*, situated near Wellingborough, has been before noticed as having supplied an interesting sepulchral inscription.* Large numbers of Roman coins and some British, among which are two of Cunobelin, have been discovered there; and, on the site of the cemetery, urns; and recently, in consequence of excavations made for ironstone, a set of eight graduated bronze culinary vessels packed one inside another; a large number of graves; stone coffins, and one in lead.

The *castrum* is square, and contains between nineteen and twenty acres. Excavations have lately been made in it, under the superintendence of the Rev. R. S. Baker;† and Sir Henry Dryden has made a careful plan of the place and of the architectural remains discovered, so that we may shortly expect, for the first time, some account of another of the *castra*, the ancient name of which has been lost, as well as those of the multitudes who inhabited it,

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii, p. 251; and vol. iv, plate xrv.

† Mr. Baker has printed an elaborate and interesting paper on these bronze vessels in the *Proceedings* of the Northampton Architectural Society, with illustrations by Sir Henry Dryden. In considering, as he does, that, because these vessels were deposited in a grave, they had necessarily served for sacred pur-

with the exception of Amicius Satorus, whose gravestone is mentioned above.

Chastleton.—I am indebted to Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., for some particulars respecting Chastleton Camp, or "The Barrow", as it is popularly called. Mr. Price writes: "It is near Moreton, on the limits of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Worcestershire. It is rectangular, though slightly rounded at the corners, and is about 400 feet in diameter. Traces of two entrances are apparent. The rampart, instead of being formed of the earth thrown up from the outer ditch, is built up of massive blocks of oolite, the natural stone of the district, and is a monument of great labour. The local historians, Wharton and Plott, are of opinion that it was a Danish Barrow of the tenth century. Its true origin does not appear to have been recognised until the present year, when excavations were permitted by the owner of the estate, Miss Whitmore Jones, under the direction of Mr. E. W. Braybrook, F.S.A., Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A., and myself. Pits were sunk and trenches cut; but hitherto we have discovered no traces of prolonged occupation. But, in cutting sections through the rampart, deposits of Roman pottery, burnt bones, and charcoal were discovered. A large quantity of animal bones was also collected from the diggings (now under examination); a bone pin of good workmanship, flint flakes, burnt pebbles, and burnt shells."

The pickaxe and spade can alone determine whether the rampart of Chastleton was ever more than what it would seem to be, constructed of rough stones and earth. If this should prove to be its condition, then we must suppose the poses, we must look to the general funeral customs of the Romans. There is abundant evidence to show that all kinds of domestic utensils and implements often accompanied the cinerary urn, and also the body in its coffin.

castrum was never intended for permanent occupation, but was hastily thrown up for some pressing emergency.

Anomalies now and then present themselves in *castra*, perplexing the explorer, who most probably is labouring under the disadvantages of not being able to judge whether the works are in their original state or reconstructed. They may also, in some cases, have been abandoned for military purposes, and used for habitations, and for cemeteries afterwards. An interesting example of such changes is now presented at Saffron Walden in the pleasure-grounds attached to the mansion of Mr. George Stacy Gibson. The garden and grounds are within the site of a British *oppidum*, which, after occupation by the Romans, became, in part, a Saxon cemetery. This I have lately had the advantage of inspecting under the personal guidance of Mr. Gibson, to whom I was introduced by my old friend Mr. Joseph Clarke, F.S.A., of the Roos, near Saffron Walden.* Some of the Saxon graves are over what are, without any doubt, the remains of the dwellings of Britons. In the skull of a Saxon lady, a redstart had built her nest and hatched her young: "Here's fine revolution, an we had the trick to see 't." This compound discovery would so lose by abridgment, that I shall refrain from using, in this chapter, the paper which Mr. Clarke has entrusted to me. I hope it will appear, by Mr. Gibson's inspiration, with illustrations, and probably additions, under the editorship of Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, now at Saffron Walden taking active interest in these discoveries.

* I cannot refrain from acknowledging further Mr. Gibson's kind attention and hospitality also. With Mr. Clarke I have been allied in friendship and in antiquarian research for many years: the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association will tell the number, but it will not show the amount of co-operation and assistance rendered.

I close this chapter by drawing attention to an earth-work which bears no analogy to those described, with the exception of its being square, and therefore apparently, as supposed by some, a Roman camp. It is in the parish of Ashhill, in Norfolk. A cutting, made for the Walton and Swaffham railway, enabled Mr. Thomas Barton of Threxton House, with the countenance and aid of Mr. Valentine, the engineer, to test the real character of the work, and to give details of a discovery of a very extraordinary kind, analogous to that made by Mr. John Brent, F.S.A., at Bekesbourn, also by the instrumentality of a railway; and well described by him in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. ii, 1859.

Mr. Barton has printed a particularly clear account of what was brought to light,* from the Plan in which, it appears that the square enclosed another; that the outer ditch was 14 feet wide and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep; the inner, 11 feet wide, and 7 feet deep; and that the extent of the entire area is 10 acres.

"The lines," Mr. Barton observes, "have all the appearance of a Roman Camp; but the extent (ten acres) is against it, especially as there is a similar one at Ovington, not a mile distant, and considerably larger. Another important feature is, that the ditch was *inside* a bank, both here and at Ovington, which would not have been the case had it been a place of defence. I think we may therefore venture to assume that it was an enclosure belonging to a villa, having an outer and inner field, the villa being at the north-east corner, whence, as I am informed, foundations of buildings were removed, when the land was brought into cultivation."

The remarkable discovery referred to above, is a shaft

* *Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society*, 1878, vol. viii, p. 224.

or well, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet square by 40 feet deep, formed of oak planks four or five inches thick, and put together "something like an Oxford frame". "The woodwork began about six feet from the surface, which appeared to have been excavated in a V shape, so as to be more easy of access, a paved road leading towards it from the north, whilst an oak plank formed a way to it, on the west; so, no doubt, for whatever purpose it was intended, frequent visits to it were made." At various depths were found deposits: at 4 feet many fragments of pottery, charcoal, bones of animals, and the remains of a basket of wicker-work; at 8 feet, more pottery and Samian ware, with bones of animals and part of an earthen colander; at 10 feet, more Samian ware (most of the cups and *pateræ* stamped with the potters' names),* a piece of stamped wall-plaster, a knife of iron, etc.; at 15 feet, more broken pottery, the staves of an oak bucket, bones of swine and deer, oyster and mussel shells, remains of four well-worn sandals (like fig. 4, p. 133 of *Illustrations of Roman London*); at 19 feet, urns more perfect, and placed symmetrically, and this applies to the remaining 15 feet, the urns being placed sometimes with the necks to the angles of the shafts; sometimes with the bottoms, while a larger urn, or a bottle, was placed in the centre. Here was found a well-preserved bow-shaped fibula, of two kinds of bronze, and an iron implement (key for a bolt?), like that in *Col. Ant.*, vol. ii, pl. vi, fig. 2. From this depth each layer of urns was embedded in leaves of oak and hazel, the hazel twigs having nuts on them; and it is worthy of remark that the nuts were in different stages of growth, thus showing that the urns were not all deposited at the same time,

* REGINVS. F.—M. IVBILVS.—VIRTHVS.—OF. MCCAC.—OF. I...IS. VIRILIS.—The second is new to our lists. The fourth, OF. MACCACH, or MACCARI?—The fifth, IVVENIS.

but at intervals of several months. At 24 and 26 feet, the deposit was about the same, except that as many as sixteen urns were in one layer; bones of the deer prevailed throughout, and at the bottom were the bones of a haunch, intact. At 30 feet, another layer of urns, in leaves as before, with a boar's tusk, and a piece of deer's horn, sawn off as if for a handle. At 32 feet, another layer of urns and leaves, with large stones over them. At 33 feet, urns again; Samian ware; a bucket 10 inches high, with its iron handle and cleats, the latter of artistic form; also, the neck of an amphora, part of a quern-stone, a muller, a small stone pounder, and a piece of leather. At 34 feet, urns, and over them were placed stones which had undergone the action of fire. Some of the urns here, and towards the bottom of the shaft, had twisted bands of sedge round the necks, as if to lower them by; and some without necks were encased in basket-work of the same material; whilst others had string with slip-knots, apparently for the same purpose. The bottom was reached at 40 feet from the surface. The floor was paved with flints; the wood-work not quite so regular as at top; there were four stakes driven into the clay at the bottom to fix the first course of wood-work in its place.

Mr. Barton, in his very lucid and careful account, adds that an analysis of the soil in the urns shows no trace of phosphate of lime, neither were there any vestiges of burnt bones, the absence of which he considers to be the only material evidence against a sepulchral theory. The subject being so interesting, an abstract of Mr. Brent's paper before referred to, will now be given.

"The workmen of the London, Chatham, and Dover, Railway, in forming a cutting upon Bokesbourn Hill, three miles from Canterbury, came upon a large wooden structure, about 13 feet below the surface. Oaken beams,

a foot square, first appeared, and then the planking of a quadrilateral oaken shaft, to the depth of six feet; then heavy cross-beams; then planking again, terminated by four cross-beams, as at top; these lay 25 feet below the surface. The cross-beams were 6 feet 6 inches in length, firmly mortised together; the planks were mortised or rabbeted together, and let into the beams, each plank being pierced by transverse ties, crossing the corners of the shafts inside, and giving to the entire structure the appearance of having a flight of steps or stays within. The entire fabric was of oak, the crossbeams evidencing by their grain that they were the product of large trees. The top of the shaft, when found, was covered with oaken planks, the structure being entirely filled with large flints. As the workmen approached the base, they came upon a single urn, about 10 inches in height. It was protected by large flints, in some manner arched over it; beneath it was a layer of flints, then five urns, one central, and one in each corner of the shaft. Among the latter was an urn with a large piece of burnt clay placed over its mouth. Of these urns there appeared to have been seven or eight. Nothing but a soft white clayey matter was found within them. Some substance of a fibrous texture was found. This might have been yarn which went round the necks of the urns; or matting, or woollen cloth laid over their mouths. Upon exposure to the air it speedily dissolved, as did for the most part some walnut or filbert shells. Beneath the last deposit of urns was a flat piece of stone over a concavity in the earth at the bottom of the shaft. It was kept in its place by six pegs, apparently of chesnut wood, pinned round it. On the stone, imbedded in the soil, was arranged a circle of horses' teeth."

It will be seen that there are strong points of resemblance between these two subterranean structures and

their contents. Mr. Brent assumes that of Bekesbourn "to be sepulchral, and that the urns, one or more of them at least, from the contents, contained the remains of burnt bodies". Mr. Barton hesitates in coming to the same conclusion, from the absence of burnt bones, which, indeed, were not apparent in the Bekesbourn shaft; but Mr. Brent considers that the soft white clayey matter was an osseous decomposition. It may be possible, however, that, even supposing burnt bones are absent, these interments may be sepulchral. My chief object in introducing the matter here is to draw more attention to such remarkable discoveries than has yet been given, and to invoke further means for comparison. If the deposit of urns in the planked pit or well between Lothbury and London Wall, were sepulchral (*Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, p. 148), the coin of Allectus limits its date in one direction; while it decides that the second line of the circumvallation of Londinium, that of which remains are yet standing, could not then have been erected.





THE ROMAN WALL.

PROCOLITIA.

THE Roman Wall, having for a long time been talked about and referred to by historians, is now being seriously studied. Camden, Gordon, Horsley, and Hodgson had prepared materials and preserved facts; to them honour and gratitude are due for labours of no common kind, conducted with intelligence and perseverance, rewarded only by their own unselfish and enthusiastic devotion to science. Fame, indeed, they have secured; but the people of their own times did not second their efforts, or avail themselves of their researches. It is in our own day that this stupendous monument of Roman Britain has been closely examined and criticised in proper spirit; the men are yet living and working who have brought together scattered facts; who have collected new materials; and who have tested them with the knowledge and judgment of advanced and sound archæology. The Rev. Dr. Bruce, ten years ago, published the third edition of his illustrated practical investigations; and recently the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*; national works, embracing all that had been discovered, and all that could be found to bear upon and aid in explaining past and present researches.

But his enthusiastic energy, successful because well directed, had opened and stimulated a spirit of inquiry; and the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, when completed, required a supplement; it is very probable that discoveries recently made, and others reasonably expected, may demand a second edition. Mr. John Clayton, above all, by practical researches conducted with a liberal hand and heart,

and with an intelligent spirit, is almost daily recovering from the tomb of ages, some new word, a page, a chapter even, of history, written, not by Tacitus or Marcellinus, but by the sturdy artificers of the legions and cohorts who so long defended Britain for Rome against the Caledonians, the Picts, and other barbarians, who were a standing league against and menace to armed civilisation, which ever was, and is, and will be, hated by barbarism. Both *The Roman Wall* and the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* enshrine much of Mr. Clayton's discoveries; but the *Archæologia Æliana* contains the full particulars of the valuable discoveries he has made, narrated by himself. They include the latest and not the least interesting revelations conjured from Procolitia and its immediate environs, from which, thanks to his liberal aid and inspiration, I am here empowered to present to my readers some reflections.

Procolitia, now Carrawburgh, is the seventh of the *castra* of the *Notitia Imperii*, on the line of the Wall, garrisoned, when that work was compiled, by the first cohort of the Batavi, whose presence there is certified by inscriptions, which thus, as in many instances, confirm satisfactorily the geographical position of the fortress. The Nervii and Aquitani are also mentioned in inscriptions found there; and the number of sculptures and miscellaneous inscriptions and altars prove that Procolitia was of importance. The substantial remains of the station which is annexed to the Great Wall, and the buildings without its walls, of which the foundations yet stand, reveal what has been in like manner shown at other stations, that a large population had sprung up and settled in the environs. In the second volume of this work, I have remarked on the general character of the remains of the Wall from Cilurnum to Procolitia. They are, indeed, full of the highest interest; and since my former visit, are rendered still more attractive, in consequence of a considerable portion of the

Wall itself having been cleared, by order of Mr. Clayton, of the brushwood which had grown over and obscured it. Much of the Wall district is elevated and lonely. The wide extent of the border heaths, and the absence of human habitations where once a long and almost continuous armed population, inspired from remote Rome, held the province of Britain against the warlike semi-savages of the north, add to the solitude of nature, and induce meditations on the fall of nations, reflections over the silent graves of generations once so prominent in our country's history.

In my walk, in the autumn of 1877, from the classic halls and grounds of Chesters, I was accompanied by Mr. Longstaffe and Mr. Blair; and we had the advantage of Mr. Clayton himself, who guided us to his most recent discovery in a valley on the western side of the station, of which the coloured lithograph heading this chapter, so kindly contributed by Mr. Clayton, gives an excellent view. The spot itself has been mentioned by Horsley as a well cased with Roman masonry, and called by the country people "a cold bath"; but up to the present day it had excited no attention, although Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, says that "in the year 1817, the shaft of a column was lying near the spring."

In the summer of 1876, Mr. Clayton, taking advantage of the almost entire cessation of the flowing of the stream which ran by the well and over it, caused excavations to be made, with unlooked for happy results. An underground structure of massive masonry was discovered which measures in the inside 8 feet 6 inches by 7 feet 9 inches; and somewhat over 7 feet in depth. Within this was deposited a miscellaneous collection of objects, the description and explanation of which form a valuable paper in the *Archæologia Eliana*, which is the basis of this chapter. In Mr. Clayton's own words:

"Within a foot of the surface, the excavator came upon

a mass of copper coins, many of the Lower Empire, and a human skull filled with coins. He then began to meet with altars, and fragments of bowls of Samian ware and glass, and bones of animals; and at the depth of about three feet found two elaborate vases of earthenware, both bearing inscriptions, and a sculptured stone, representing three Naiads or water-nymphs. He had then come upon copper coins of the Higher Empire, which continued, with an admixture of coins of the Lower Empire, to the bottom. He met with the head of a statue, with other vases without inscriptions, with brooches, rings, beads, dice, and other objects. Going still lower, the excavator continued to find altars; and nearly at the bottom he met with a massive votive tablet, dedicated to the goddess Coventina, by Titus Domitius Cosconianus, a Prefect in command of the First Cohort of Batavians."



DEAE
COVENTINAE
T.D.COSCONIA
NVS.PR.COH
I.BAT.L.M.

*Deæ Coventinæ
Titus Domitius Cos-
conianus Præfectus
Cohortis Primæ Ba-
tavorum libens meri-
to.*

"This tablet is inscribed to a goddess whose name is unrecorded on the roll of Roman divinities. On it the

goddess is represented as floating on the leaf of a gigantic water-lily, and holding in her right hand a branch of palm or of some other tree. On one of the altars described below, she is called *Dea Nympha*; and it is therefore clear



that this goddess was a water deity, which is confirmed by the representation shewn on this page, of the three Naiads, each of them raising in one hand a goblet, and in

the other holding a flagon, from which is poured a stream of water; and by the well or reservoir for water within her temple.

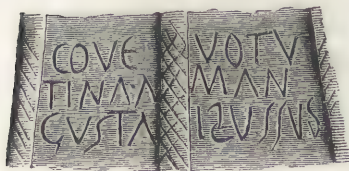
"Of this vast collection of copper, or brass, coins, a few dozens have lain in clay and been preserved; many of the rest are so much worn or corroded as to render it very difficult to identify them." As they will be fully described presently, I pass on to Mr. Clayton's description of the earthen vessels, which are of such very eccentric forms that, had they been presented unaccompanied by evidence such as they luckily possess, they would probably have been attributed to some not very expert forger.



"They are offerings of Saturninus Gabinius to the goddess Coventina. The letters are distributed over the panels of each vase. From the letters of one of them we collect the following words:—

COVENTINA AGVSTA VOTV
MANIBVS SVIS SATVRNINVS
FECIT GABINIVS.

*Coventinae Augustae votum
manibus suis Saturninus
fecit Gabinius.*



"It would appear from this inscription, that the dedicator made the vase with his own hands. Whatever may be thought

of the skill of Saturninus Gabinius as a manufacturer, his

orthography is palpably defective. He gives to the goddess the title of *Augusta*, for which several precedents exist in the Nymphæum or Temple of the Water Deities at Nismes, the goddess addressed being styled *Nympha Augusta*.

The inscription on the second vase is a barbarous abbreviation of that on the other; and but for which it



would have been utterly unintelligible. The letters in the several compartments may be the following:—

CV			G&T		
SA	TV	R	N	GA	IV
			I	BIN	S

giving us the name of Saturninus Gabinus, preceded by

the principal characters in the words *Coventina Augusta* ;
and the reading may be—

VOTVM COVENTINAE AVGVSTAE
SATVRNINVS GABINIVS.

The inscriptions on the altars, with Mr. Clayton's readings, are —

1. DEAE SANCT
COVONTINE
VINCENTIVS
PRO SALVTE SVA
V.L.L.M.D.

Deæ Sanctæ Covontinæ Vincentius pro salute sua votum libens lætus merito dicavit.

2. DIE COVE
NTINAE A
VRELIVS
GROTVS
GERMAN
3. DIIAII
CONVENTI
NAE BELLICVS
V.S.L.M.P.

Deæ Coventinæ Aurelius Grotus Germanus.

4. DEAE NIM
FAE COVEN
TINE MA.D
VHVS.GERM.
POS.PRO.SE.ET.SV
V.S.L.M.

Deæ Conventinæ Bellicus votum solvens libens merito posuit.

*Deæ Nymphæ
Coventinæ Manlius Duhus Germanus posuit pro se et suis votum solvit libens merito.*



5. DEAE CO *Deæ Coventinæ Cohors prima*
 VENTINE *Cubernorum Aurelius Cam-*
 COH.I.CVBE *pester? V....*
 RNORVM
 AVR CAMP
 ESTER
 V.....
6. DAE COVEN *Deæ Covent*
 VI NOMATI *vi(?) Nomati-*
 VS.V.S.L.M. *us, votum, etc.*
7. DE CONVE *Deæ Coventinæ*
 NT.....

 OPTIO CH *Optio Cohortis*
 GERMAN? *..... ..?*
8. DEAE CO *Deæ Coventinæ*
 VETINE CR *Grotus Vitibes solvit*
 OTVS VTIB *libens votum pro salute.*
 ES S L V PRO
 SA.
- 9 and 10. These altars are carefully worked; but the inscriptions are so faintly preserved, that they only show the name *Coventine* on one; and *Corventine* on the other.
11. DIE M *Deæ Minervæ*
 INER *Venico pro salute*
 VE VE *posuit solvens*
 NICO *votum.*
 P.R.S
 POS.S.V.

It will be perceived that there is a variation in the spelling of the name of the goddess *Coventina*. In No. 1, she is styled *Sancta*; and in No. 4, *Nympha*. No. 2. The

name of the dedicator, *Grotus*, a German, influences the reading of what seems the same name in No. 8, although the letter looks like c. No. 3. The name *Bellicus* occurs on an altar in Tretyre Church, in Herefordshire. It has been repeatedly printed erroneously as *Bennicus*. No. 4. *Dubus* is one of the Teutonic names of which so many occur in the auxiliary troops located on the line of the Wall. No. 5. The first Cohort of the *Cuberni* or *Cugerni*, a people of Belgic Gaul, was, as Mr. Clayton remarks, in Britain in the times of Trajan and Hadrian, as proved by their military diplomas; and it was in Scotland on the Antonine Wall (Horsley, *Scotland*, xxv). In all these instances it is styled *Cugerni*; and so Tacitus, in speaking of this people, calls them. Pliny the Naturalist terms them *Guberni*. No. 7. It is possible that the last two lines may be read OPTIO CHO (for COH) FRIXIAV *orum*. If this be conceded, we meet with for the first time the *Frisiavi* of the *Notitia*, stationed at Vindobala, between Procolitia and Pons *Ælii*, Newcastle. No. 8. It is not improbable that *Grotus* may be identical with *Aurelius Grotus* of No. 2; and that while he dedicated the first altar from general feelings of piety, he addressed the goddess in the second for the especial restoration of his health. In this case, Mr. Clayton's suggestion that *Utibes* may indicate a town on the Danube has additional weight. The word sounds somewhat like *Usipi* or *Usipetes*, a body of whom served in Britain under Agricola; but they do not seem to be mentioned afterwards. 11. The altar to *Minerva* presents nothing remarkable, excepting that, as Mr. Clayton observes, "it could not have been placed in the well in compliment to *Coventina*, whatever may have been the object of placing in the well the altars dedicated to *Coventina* herself."

The name *Coventina* or *Conventina* has exercised the

ingenuity and learning of many; but to no decisive purpose. I have suggested that the word might have reference to the *Convenæ* of Aquitaine, renowned for its springs; and this notion is somewhat supported by the presence of Aquitani in a neighbouring station; but I think a better and simpler solution may be proposed. There are hundreds of names of divinities, to be interpreted only from localities, of which some examples have been given in pages 55 to 58 of this volume. Celtic and even Greek derivations have been proposed; but as the name was compounded for Romans, it must be conceded that a Roman origin may be sought with greater probability of success. The word was also, no doubt, intended to be clearly understood by the population of the place; and therefore it must have been very simple and obvious. The stream, upon which the fountain or well and a temple which enclosed it were placed, flowed into the Tyne, which I think is represented in the *Tina* (as Ptolemy calls the river), of the word *Coven* or *Conven-tina*; and that the *Coven* or *Conven*, synonymous, is from *Convenio*, signifying a coming together or conflux, namely, that of the stream with the Tyne, as *Confluentes*, the town on the Rhine, is from *Con* and *fluo*, in reference to the Moselle. As the Seine was deified and styled *Dea Sequana*, so, doubtless, the Tyne would have been worshipped as *Dea Tina*, had the temple been upon its bank apart from the tributary stream; but as probably the stream of itself was not of sufficient importance to possess a name, the fact of its running into the Tyne at a short distance afforded the pious name-makers the means of coining a significant appellation, high sounding and euphonious.

After the well had been exhausted of its contents, Mr. Clayton laid open the outward walls of the temple, a building of about 40 feet square, the walls about three

feet thick. In the immediate vicinity are vestiges of buildings, so that the establishment was of considerable importance. From the stream, no doubt, water was supplied for the purposes of Procolitia. Besides the altars described there were others, altogether to the amount of twenty-four, of which some are quite illegible, some uninscribed; and some appear unfinished. All are uninjured, except by time; so that they were, by being deposited in the well, secured from injury. The cause of the deposit is now to be considered.

The number of coins secured by Mr. Clayton is 13,487; but as many were stolen by Sabbath pilferers from the adjoining towns, the full number cannot be computed under 15,000, and their weight full 4 cwt. They range over the entire period of the Roman rule in Britain, the latest being of the Emperor Gratian; the most numerous, by far, from Vespasian to Commodus. This enormous mass deposited in a place of such contracted dimensions, and, comparatively of such restricted influence, at once leads us to recognise in them and in the other contents of the wall concealment, from a sudden alarm or panic, and not, as some imagine (from imperfect evidence), votive offerings deposited from time to time over a long series of years. This is the opinion of Mr. Clayton, of Dr. Bruce, of myself, and, I believe, of most of our colleagues in the North.

In towns of consequence, and in places where temples on a much larger scale than this near Procolitia were erected to water deities, no such amount of coins used as votive offerings, has ever been discovered equal to this at the humble shrine of a goddess whose very name was probably unknown half a dozen miles beyond her temple. What should there be in Procolitia, built by Hadrian, or at least, in part built by him, to excite the soldiers and

camp followers to such lavish devotion to Coventina? They had other deities to worship; and Coventina was not likely to secure a monopoly. But the coins themselves, if carefully examined, would dispel the notion of their having been used for votive offerings. Nearly all of the vast numbers bear the indisputable sign, of long circulation. They are so worn, that some two thousand had to be laid aside as utterly illegible, and not even to be recognised by the well-known outlines of features often sufficient to practised eyes to lead to identification. Neither were they in gradual sequences, as they would have been, if deposited by the slow process of long consecutive years; some of the small brass of the Lower Empire were at the bottom of the well; and, in some instances, were rusted firmly on to the large brass of long anterior times. It is quite the contrary where coins were deposited as votive offerings. Those in the temple of the *Dea Sequana* may be cited (see page 63, *ante*); at the crossing of rivers where they were thrown in as propitiatory to the tutelary divinity, as in the river Brives at or near the town* of Mayenne; and probably in the Thames near London Bridge. The coins found there, as may be seen in my *Illustrations of Roman London*, are generally remarkable for good preservation. It would be very interesting to show how frequently coins were deposited in springs, and fountains, and at the crossings of rivers; but every instance would prove there can be no analogy between such circumstances and the feelings which led to the immersion of the large mass in the well of Coventina.

The altars and sculptures, and the two inscribed earthen vessels so carefully made by the potter who dedicated

* I have printed an account of this discovery in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1866. It is extremely interesting.

them, could never have been intended but to be seen; the altars to be exposed in the temple; the vessels probably for some purpose connected with its services; certainly not to be buried. But these pious dedications had been applied as intended, probably for a long period; and then came a day when they were about to be exposed to the blind fury of a foe as hostile in creed as in arms; and some imminent and great disaster left time only sufficient to save them from destruction or that mutilation in which such monuments are usually found. What money was in the military chest at the *castrum* and could not be carried off, was brought down to the temple to the priests, who devised the best mode in their power to save it and the sacred altars also; and the whole was put into the well. To me, this seems the only rational explanation that can be offered for the presence of this miscellaneous collection in such a place. Minor objects, and probably a few coins, might have been cast in as offerings at earlier times; but that is not the question, if question it be, now before us. We have, unfortunately, thousands of instances of the systematic and determined mutilation and destruction of Roman monuments by the barbarians and early Christians; and we have also evidence of the care taken by the Romans themselves, when favourable circumstances permitted, to preserve them. The seventeen altars discovered at Maryport, in 1870, carefully buried with their faces downwards, is one of the most striking cases in point.*

In the enormous mass of coins, those of the latest reign, apart from their presence in the well, among the most common and uninteresting, become, in this investigation, the most important, for they indicate the time when, admitting that they formed part of the contents of a military chest, the treasure was deposited. These coins are of the reign

* *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, pp. 429 to 438.

of Gratian ; and to the latter part of his rule over Britain, or, not far subsequent, we must assign the epoch. The rebellion of Magnus Maximus, and the consequent withdrawal of garrisons from the north of Britain, left the main line of defence open to the Picts and Scots ; and although, after the defeat of Maximus, Gaul and Britain were recovered to the Empire, the military hold of the long line of fortresses of the Wall became so relaxed, that it can well be understood why, on the approach of an enemy, the concealment of what was valuable and could not be carried away, should be resorted to. The keepers of the money never returned to claim it ; and the guardians of the temple probably fled with them, never to return. There was silence in the hall of Coventina for long ages, until the modern *Genius Loci* summoned from their prison these witnesses in brass and stone to discourse so instructively. Numismatic evidence in the north is silent in the reigns of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius ; but in the south of Britain, large hoards of coins of these emperors are continually found, attesting that there the imperial power yet lingered.

Fortunate, indeed, for science is it that so much of this classical district is the property of such a man as Mr. Clayton. Coins are sometimes of the very highest archæological value ; but in order that they should be so, it is imperative that, as in the present case, they be free from the shadow of suspicion as to the entire circumstances under which they are brought to light ; and it is also necessary that the unbroken mass, when discovered in mass, should be placed under examination. If, as is too often the case, a portion be allowed to be abstracted, it is impossible to say that weighty evidence may not be removed ; evidence which possibly might modify or even refute that which has been allowed to remain. The coins of the

temple of Coventina have been produced in the court of inquiry as a mighty and unbroken host of honest witnesses whose evidence is full, perfect, and convincing. It matters not that the numismatist is somewhat disappointed in not finding new types; and in seeing rare reverses spoilt by the rude action of centuries of vulgar traffic; there is, even in this, matter for congratulation, because it is the very source upon which is mostly founded the theory so confidently offered to explain this important discovery.

NUMERICAL VIEW OF THE COINS.

	NUMBER		NUMBER
Marc Antony ...	3	Brought forward ...	9684
Augustus ...	3	Lucilla ...	89
M. Agrippa ...	1	Commodus ...	207
Tiberius ...	1	Crispina... ..	39
Drusus ...	1	Didius Julianus ...	1
Germanicus ...	2	Didia Clara ...	1
Claudius ...	20	Clodius Albinus ...	2
Nero ...	52	Severus ...	42
Galba ...	6	Julia Domna ...	22
Otho ...	1	Caracalla ...	13
Vespasian and Titus* ...	550	Plautilla ...	2
Julia Titi ...	1	Geta ...	1
Domitian ...	485	Elagabalus ...	3
Nerva ...	82	Julia Paula ...	1
Trajan ...	1,772	Aquilia Severa ...	1
Hadrian ...	2,330	Julia Soaemias ...	1
Sabina ...	101	Julia Maesa ...	2
L. Ælius ...	30	Severus Alexander ...	10
Antoninus Pius ...	2,141	Julia Mamaea ...	8
Faustina I ...	688	Maximinus ...	1
M. Aurelius ...	667	Maximus ...	1
Faustina II ...	666	Gordianus Pius ...	4
L. Verus ...	81	Philippus ...	4
Carried forward ...	9684	Carried forward	10,139

* These are so worn from long circulation, that it is impossible to distinguish many with certainty.

		NUMBER			NUMBER
Brought forward		10,139	Brought forward		10,692
Philippus Cæsar	...	2	Maximinus II	...	9
Etruscilla	...	1	Maxentius	...	2
Trebonianus Gallus	...	1	Licinius	...	15
Valerianus	...	3	Constantine	...	200
Gallienus	...	83	Fausta	...	3
Salonina	...	4	Crispus	...	21
Claudius Gothicus	...	72	Constantine II	...	66
Quintillus	...	8	Constans	...	25
Aurelian	...	10	Magnentius	...	30
Postumus	...	35	Decentius	...	3
Victorinus	...	71	Constantius II	...	12
Marius	...	1	Constantine Family	...	230
The Tetrici	...	81	Urbs Roma	...	67
Tacitus	...	15	Constantinopolis	...	62
Probus	...	19	Valentinian	...	1
Carinus	...	1	Valens	...	6
Diocletian	...	18	Gratian	...	15
Maximian	...	46	Small Brass, illegible	...	27
Carausius	...	25	First and Second Brass,		
Allectus	...	16	illegible	...	about 2,000
Constantius	...	27	Greek of Neapolis, much		
Helena	...	11	worn	...	1
Theodora	...	1			
Severus II	...	2			
Carried forward		10,692	Total		13,487

SCARCE REVERSES.

CLAUDIUS.—Ob Cives Servatos, s.c., within a wreath.

VESPASIAN and TITUS.—Judæa Capta.—An elephant.

DOMITIAN.—Victory crowning the Emperor.

NERVA.—A palm tree; the "Fisci Judaici" type.—"Vehiculatione Italiæ Remissa;" two mules unyoked.

TRAJAN.—Via Trajana.—Trophies.—A recumbent female (Tellus), extending her hand to a large globe at her feet.—The Emperor on horseback.—Victory crowning the Emperor.—Arabia Adquisita.—Dacia Capta.—A temple.—A bridge.—The Emperor standing upon a pediment; on each side two eagles.

HADRIAN.—Britannia, in middle brass, 327.—Adventus

Aug.—Adventui Aug. Bithyniæ.—Adventui Aug. Italiæ.—Others of the "Adventus" type.—Adlocutio.—Disciplina.—Varieties of the Galley type.—Temple of twelve columns.—"Restitutori" types.—The Emperor on horseback.—Neptune.—A river god.—Dacia.—Hispania.

LUCIUS ÆLIUS.—Pannonia; a personification of the province, standing.

ANTONINUS PIUS.—Britannia.—Rex Armenis Datus.—Rex Parthis Datus.—Victory upon a globe ("Britannia" type).—Opi Aug.—Recumbent river god.—Aurelius Cæsar.—Munificentia Aug.—Wolf and Twins.—Adventus.—A Temple.—Bono Eventui.—Genio Senatus.—The Emperor in a quadriga.—Junoni Sispitæ.—Liberalitas Aug.—Concordiæ; four figures.—Primi Decennales.—"Consecratio" types.—Æd. Divi Aug. Rest.; a temple.

FAUSTINA, THE ELDER.—Veneri Augustæ.—Cybele.—Consecratio.

MARCUS AURELIUS.—Juventas.—Primi Decennales.—Consecratio.

FAUSTINA, THE YOUNGER.—Temporum Felicit; a woman with six infants.—Fecunditas; a woman with four infants.—Saeculi Felicitas; two children in a light ornamented bed.—The moon and seven stars.—Sideribus Recepta.—Consecratio.

LUCIUS VERUS.—Liberalitas Augg.—Concordia Augg.—Consecratio.

COMMODUS.—Vict. Brit.—Serapidi Conservat. Aug.—Hercules standing by a trophy.—Lib. Aug. IIII; the Emperor and four attendants upon an estrade.

CLODIUS ALBINUS.—COS.II.; Æsculapius.

SEVERUS.—Victoriæ Parthicæ.—Cerei Frug.

JULIA DOMNA.—The Empress and four standards, as "Mater Castrorum".

CARACALLA.—Vota Publica.—Vota Suscepta X.—A Galley.

Profectio Aug.

ELAGABALUS.—Sacerd. Dei Solis Elagab.

AQUILIA SEVERA.—Concordia.

JULIA MAMAEA.—Pietas Augusta.—Juno Conservatrix.

PHILIPPUS.—Aeternitas; an elephant.

POSTUMUS.—Restit. Galliarum.—Serapidi Comiti Aug.

The large number of the "Britannia" type, in second brass of Antoninus Pius, is remarkable. I carefully examined about ten or twelve; and found that no two were precisely alike; therefore these were all struck from different dies. The coins of Carausius and Allectus, all of common types, have for mint-marks M.L. and C. Coins of Crispus and the younger Constantine have the mint-mark P.LON. for Londinium; the chief places of mintage being Treves, PTR; Lyons, PLC; and Arles, CONST.

As has been often remarked of large hoards of Roman coins, so it will be seen of these 13,487; they do not disturb the old degrees of rarity; the "Britannia" of Antoninus Pius excepted. There is only one specimen each of Julia Titi, of Didius Julianus, and of Didia Clara; while the others occur, numerically, much in the proportion in which they are found, whether in collections or in new discoveries.

Having shown the historical value of these coins, a value totally distinct from their individual worth in the eyes of the numismatist, we may look at them as works of art and instruction, combined with their use as a medium of commerce and the traffic of everyday life. There was a time when they were as fresh and legible as the few from which Mr. Clayton has had a plate engraved. They came to Britain from Rome, new from the mint, with the

bloom of the die upon them, marvels of an art, the advantages of which has never since been appreciated beyond the means it affords of "keeping base life afloat".

The Roman coinage, embodying so much of the beautiful and instructive, must have had, also, a moral and humanising influence. The winter's cold severely tried soldiers from warm climates; but there was plenty of fuel at hand; the barracks of the *castra* were all well warmed by hypocausts; and, no doubt the soldiers were well fed; and so far they were on an equality with our troops; but they had no daily and weekly newspapers; no cheap literature for news from home and for tidings from all parts of the world. Great changes and important events, transpiring constantly at the heart of the empire and in the provinces, must often have taken a long time to reach the north of Britain; and must, at the best, have been imperfectly conveyed by official couriers and military despatches. In the long winters' nights and in days almost as dark as nights; in rain, snow, and fogs, the climate's special offspring, how did the soldiers pass, or endure the time? Indoors games of course were not wanting, nor joculars; while here and there, a more gifted story-teller may have told fables of Æsop or have recited scenes from Plautus and Terence. But the coins must have afforded a very valuable source of amusement; and also of instruction. They were as books from which history could be learned. The veteran could illustrate from them events in which he himself had taken a part; explain public occurrences; and the domestic life of the imperial family, its virtues and its vices. Others might seek information on the mysteries of the Roman mythology and its assimilation with provincial myths, for which instructors would be found and illustrations of matchless elegance. The coins, in short, opened a wide and fertile field, and were texts for

the instructor, teeming with knowledge varied and almost inexhaustible. With the Roman Empire fell its wonderful coinage, never to be revived. The Saxon and the English series, in comparison, are but burlesques of art; and even in more modern times when the engraving is respectable the coinage only tells us what need not be told, such as, that a penny is a penny and a shilling a shilling.

Just as I had written the foregoing I received from Dr. Bruce an extract from *The Natural History and Antiquities of Northumberland* by John Wallis, A.M., vol. i, p. 23, 1769. It shews the state of the fountain of Coventina upwards of a century ago. It is fortunate that curiosity excited nobody to divert the stream and explore the well; for sad experience tells us we should then have lost all chance of having the benefit of the complete evidence which Mr. Clayton has given us.

“Many springs and rivers were consecrated by the Romans for their religious rites, for their lustrations at funerals and sacrifices, and before they entered their *Sacraria* or temples. Of this kind was their *Fons Blandusiæ* and their *Flumen Clitumni*. And of this kind, probably, is their well here at their station of Carrow-brough called the *Roman* well. It is between the sloping fields, on the west side of the station, just under it to the south of their famous wall, about 400 or 500 yards from the twenty-fifth mile-stone on the military road; square and faced with freestone, of hewn work; and has either had a dome over it, or been walled round; the stones now lying about it nearly covered with water, from the conduits being stopt, and demolished by the carelessness or ignorance of a plowman, as I am informed; it is full up to the brim and overflowing in the hottest summer; and by that man’s indiscretion, he that would satisfy his curiosity to see it, must risque the wetting his feet, especially in winter, or in a rainy season.”

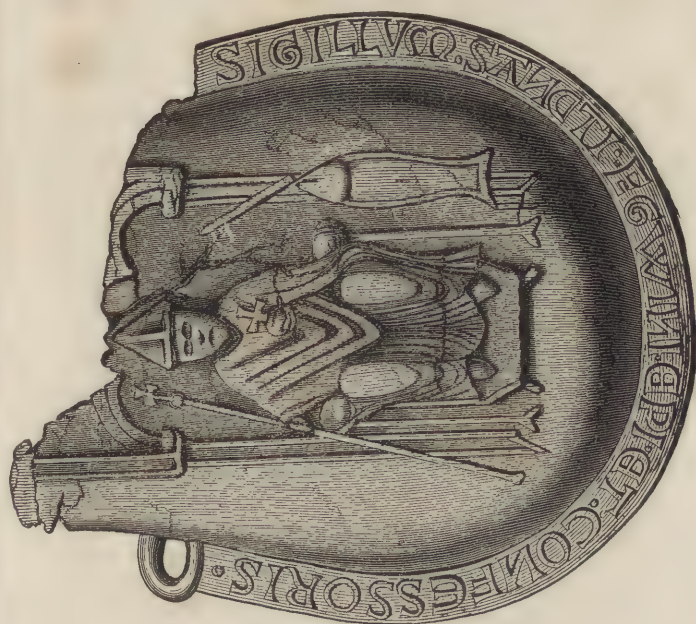
PILGRIMS' SIGNS.

PLATES XVII AND XVIII.

SOME years have elapsed since the leaden or pewter *Sig-nacula*, which we have properly called "Pilgrims' Signs", were brought before the public. I exhibited a few, found in the Stour, from the collection of the late Mr. Rolfe of Sandwich, at the first congress of the British Archæological Association, at Canterbury; and, not long after, I published examples in the first volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*. From time to time, as new discoveries were made, additional varieties have been given, to the amount of nearly or quite eighty; and, also, references to others. It is somewhat remarkable that this class of religious symbols, illustrating mediæval customs and beliefs, should have remained unnoticed until so recent a day; and it is also remarkable that, since they were thus made known, so many should have been discovered. Now, the British Museum and the Guildhall Museum have large collections;* and so have private individuals, chief among whom is Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., to whom I am indebted for figures 4 and 5, in plate XVIII.

The late Rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., in 1859, communicated a paper on the subject to the Society of Antiquaries, which was published with two plates in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. He gives some two dozen examples, none of which are of equal interest to most of those referred to in

* The former contains those formerly in my own collection, described in my printed *Catalogue*.



PILGRIMS' SIGN (AMPULLA).
Discovered in Lancashire.





PILGRIMS' SIGNS.



the *Collectanea Antiqua*. Nor does the text assist us to much new information, with the exception that Thomas Gardner, in his *History of Dunwich* (1754), has engraved some *ampullæ*, found on the shore near that town, which, he says, "some call *Pilgrims' Pouches*, some *Lacrymatories*, thought to hold liquid reliicks or tears". "Their proper name, use, and dependancy", he leaves to the opinion of the "curious"; but, as Mr. Hugo observes, the "curious" thought little (nothing rather) of them. Mr. Hugo's collection has, however, one new example, which, from the inscription, as he observes, "seems to refer to Kenelm, son of Kenulph, King of Mercia, whose tomb at Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, was reputed to be endowed with miraculous virtues".

For the very fine example of *ampullæ*, given in plate xvii, we are indebted to Mr. Henry Ecroyd Smith, who published it in the *Transactions* of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1869, with an elaborate and well-written Paper, from which I here give some extracts.

The Ampulla was found in August 1863, "in the deeply-worn gully of a rivulet, which scarcely exceeds half a mile in length, and debouches into the Ribble, at one of its numerous northern bends (N.W. of Balderstone Hall, on the opposite or southern bank), after running through a portion of the Elston district, about half way between Ribchester and Preston. The locality, owing to its peculiar geographical position and the marshy character of the ground, is one of the most secluded from "the busy haunts of men" that can well be imagined for a valley in populous mid-Lancashire, lying quite out of the track of travellers and railway navvies; and the nearest road being several miles distant. Nevertheless, near the mouth of the brook, a ford across the Ribble existed in former times; and the

fact is of importance in connection with the probable loss of the relic from the person of some pilgrim or traveller."

This ampulla is engraved in plate XVII of its actual size. It is remarkable in representing two saints instead of one, like the numerous examples heretofore discovered; and these two not connected in time or place. The side of the ampulla shewn on the left of the plate is of Edwin, King of Northumbria. He is seated upon a throne, and holds in the right hand a sceptre tipped with a *fleur-de-lis*; and in the left hand a sword. The throne is beneath drapery or curtains drawn aside. From below the loops of the ampulla is inscribed: SIGILLVM . SANCTI . EDWINI . REGIS . PMARTIRIS. *The Sign of Saint Edwin, King (and) Protomartyr.*

The other side represents Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, mitred and enthroned, seated under a canopy. He holds in his right hand an episcopal staff. The cut is here in error; and also as regards the object in the left hand, which, if it be a globe, is not surmounted by a cross. On his left side is a fish holding in its mouth a key. The inscription is:—SIGILLVM . SANCTI . EGWINI . EPI . ET . CONFESSORIS. *The Sign of Saint Egwin, Bishop and Confessor.* The representation of Egwin requires no especial remark; but the fish and key by the side of Egwin bear a prominent part in one of the miracles of this saint, to which reference will be made presently.

Mr. Ecroyd Smith remarks:—"The combination of the effigies of SS. Edwyn and Ecgwyn upon this ampulla seems to bespeak the existence of a *conjoint shrine, whence it was procured*; but numerous enquiries have as yet failed to trace such a shrine, either in the Ribble district or at Evesham, where one of the founders would in all likelihood be erected in the Abbey Church in early times; and

later would share the common fate of mediæval sanctuaries. Investigation in the lower Ribble district, though failing to elicit evidence of both or either of our saints, establishes the fact of at least *three* religious houses having been founded here during the Norman period. These are, *Penwortham Priory*, by Warin de Busel, first Baron Penwortham, soon after the Conquest, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and granted, with valuable lands hereabout, to the abbot and canons of *Evesham* ;* the *Hospital of St. Saviour of Stede*, under Longridge Fell ; and *Whalley Abbey*. The whole of this tract, *i.e.*, from Penwortham on the south-west to Whalley at the north-east, is further remarkable as abounding in the names (with occasional remains) of old crosses, as a glance at the Ordnance map will testify. Subsequently, this part of the country, chiefly belonging to Amounderness Hundred, and attached to the see of York, was repeatedly visited by St. Wilfred, a successor of Paulinus, who died in 709, and to whom, conjointly with St. Mary, the parish church (at Ribchester) was dedicated. Thus a close connection is established with Evesham, as also with York, where it is but natural to conclude a shrine of its Protomartyr, King Edwyn, was honoured in the Cathedral Church, built by Wilfred. On the other hand, turning to the Abbey of Evesham, the historical fact is important to the argument that *St. Wilfred was present at the dedication of its Church*, and if, as it cannot be unreasonable to suppose, he had been a liberal patron of this important and costly undertaking, what is more probable, considering the customs of this era, than that, in compliment to the Archbishop, Ecgbryn here constructed a shrine of St. Edwyn ? After decease, his own might be erected in juxtaposition ; and thus they would become conjointly honoured. When the pewter signacula came

* Baines's *Lancashire*, ii, 485.

into vogue, both saints would appropriately find a place upon one of the particular signs issued here."

Mr. Ecroyd Smith has given a short sketch of the life of each of these saints, which need not be repeated here. For Edwin, A.D. 588 to 633, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* may be consulted; for Egwin, the late Thomas Wright's *Bibliographia Britannica Literaria*, i, pp. 223-9. He was placed over the see of Worcester about A.D. 692; and he died about A.D. 718. The fish with the key upon the sign in plate XVII shows the popular belief in one of the miracles recorded of Egwin, chiefly from his own testimony. The Pope had called the bishop to Rome to answer some serious charges preferred against him. Egwin travelled with an outward show of extreme humility. Before leaving Mercia, he ordered a smith to make for him heavy fetters of iron, closed with locks; and having locked them on his bare legs as instruments of penance, he threw the key into the river Avon. Thus equipped, he travelled to Dover,* and embarked with his companions in a small vessel, which conveyed them to Italy. Whilst he was on the bank of the Tiber, at his devotions, and offering thanks for his safe voyage, his attendants had caught a salmon. When it was opened in order to prepare it for cooking, they were astonished to find in its belly the key of Egwin's iron fetters. The Pope received the Bishop with marked distinction, and sent him home with letters to King Ethelred, who restored him to the see of Worcester, and committed to him the education of his children.

My friend the Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh has favoured me with the following communication:—

* *Perrexit ad oppidum Durovernensis castelli*, MS., Cotton, fol. 24, v°. This would, of itself, mean Canterbury; but it is not the only instance of this name being given erroneously for Dubris, the Anglo-Saxon "Dofra-ceaster".

"Saint Ecgwine is said to have died A.D. 717, in old age. Therefore we must suppose him to have been born about A.D. 647, perhaps earlier. He was born of royal race; and his illustrious parents took care that he received the sacraments of baptism and confirmation.

"To what royal family did he belong? for they of Mercia were not Christians then. It is very probable that he was of the Northumbrian family. His predecessor Tatfrith, who died before consecration; Bosel, consecrated by Archbishop Theodore in 679; Oftfor, Bosa, Aetla, John, and Wilfrith, in 691; had all been monks of the monastery of Saint Hilda at Streaneshalh. Ælfleda, daughter of King Oswin, was abbess there from 680; and her mother Eanfleda, daughter of King Eadwine, lived with her there. It is not, then, unlikely that Ecgwine was from the same monastery, and a son of Oswin. His name favours this idea, for it was usual in families for the children to have names alike, and two of Oswin's sons were named Ecgfrith and Ælfwine.

"The association of Ecgwin with Eadwin on this sign favours the idea of a tradition to this effect; for if he was a son of Oswin and Eanfleda, he was a grandson of Eadwine, and this would be considered to redound to his honour. There is no clue to any other kind of connection between the two.

"There does not appear to be any valid ground for doubting the genuineness of the commendatory letter of Pope Constantine and the charter of Kings Cœnræd and Offa, in the Evesham chartulary. Both are dated at Rome in 709; both signed by the Pope, the two kings, and Ecgwin; and both allude to the vision. The former states that Ecgwin had twice visited Rome. In the latter, Cœnræd says that he and Ecgwin had been there in 703; and this is rendered probable by two circumstances. For

Cœnraed's accession is usually dated A.D. 704, the year of Æthelraed's resignation. But it appears from three MSS. of the English Chronicle that Cœnraed became King of the Southumbrians in 702; and the same MSS. record his accession to the kingdom of the Mercians two years later. He was, therefore, King in 703, and might well visit Rome in that year. The same is confirmed by the statement that St. Wilfrith consecrated the church at Evesham. He returned from his last Roman journey in 704, and remained in Mercia, because he was forbidden to enter Northumbria. The dependence of Penwortham upon Evesham accounts for the finding of the sign in Lancashire."

PLATE XVIII.—Mr. Waller, who has prepared this plate, remarks that figures 1 and 2 represent the same saint, as appears by their bearing the same emblems. Fig. 1 seems to be the earliest in point of date; and it fortunately gives us the name of the saint at the base upon a scroll, S. WINOS, *i.e.*, Sanctus Winocus. The figure, in both cases, is habited in the sacerdotal vestments; but in fig. 1 they are those of the Mass, as Chasuble, Stole, etc. In the right hand is a long staff, at the upper end of which is what seems to be the model of a chapel, or it is a reliquary. The left hand holds a book. Fig. 2 has but this difference, that the figure is in a Cope instead of a Chasuble.

"Saint Winoc must have been one whose shrine was of local influence only. He was born on the confines of Brittany, in the seventh century, of a noble race; and being desirous of fulfilling the religious life, he passed with three companions to the country of the Morini and came to St. Bertin about A.D. 687, and from him received admission to the monastic life. By St. Bertin he was sent to a place which yet bears his name as St. Winoc's Mount

(*Mons S. Winoci*); and here, by the aid of St. Bertin, he constructed a house for a more close and devout order; and after the death of his three companions, he became its chief. Whilst prosecuting various works of charity, he selected a certain mill which, by turning with his hand, he compelled to serve the necessities of the poor. And now when prayer should succeed to the work, it was also followed by the divine benediction, for God, wishing to spare the old man, now weary of his labours, he caused it to go round by itself. This seems as if it may explain the model on the top of the staff as representing a mill. The narrative does not inform us whether a wind-mill or a water-mill was alluded to, but no sails are indicated. St. Winoc died A.D. 717, and was buried at *Voremholt*, the popular name of the place of the monastery. The facts, as above, are given by Surius, in *Historia Sanctorum*."

Fig. 3 we have not been so fortunate as to identify at present. With figs. 1 and 2, it was found in the Somme at Abbeville, and presented to me by the late M. Boucher de Perthes. Our friends in France have not yet fully estimated the interest of these exponents of religious life and thought in the middle ages. Figs. 4 and 5 (from Mr. Cecil Brent's London Collection), are emblems of St. Hubert; and probably of St. Martin. The horn, there can be no doubt about; and the goose is found, both in France and England, associated with St. Martin; but what especial part the useful bird played in the history of the saint, I have yet to learn.

For the following signs, I am indebted to Mr. Waller and the London and Middlesex Archæological Society. They illustrate a valuable paper by Mr. Waller, entitled, "On the Pilgrimage to Our Lady of Wilsdon", published in the fourth volume of the *Transactions* of the Society. From this paper, I am tempted to extract a few pertinent passages:—

"Of Pilgrims, it may be as well to say a few words, as they have been classed by different terms, which have remained in different languages, but whose origin is forgotten in the daily use of them. We cannot quote a better authority than that of Dante, in his *Vita Nuova*, where, having seen a procession of Pilgrims passing through the streets of Florence, whilst his beloved Beatrice was lying dead, says, "They call those 'Palmer's', inasmuch as they go beyond the sea, whence they have many times obtained the palm. They call those 'Pilgrims' (*Pellegrini*), inasmuch as they go to the house of Galicia, because the sepulchre of St. James was further off from his country than that of any other apostle. Those are called 'Romers', insomuch as they go to Rome, where those that I have called 'Pilgrims', were going." Romeo, therefore, signifies a pilgrim to Rome; and in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, he appears at the masque as a pilgrim, Act i, sc. 5.

"A Pilgrim was one to whom considerable reverence was attached. Before setting out upon his journey, he made his will; confessed himself; and his bourdon or staff, and his scrip, received a solemn benediction from the priest. His person was held sacred, and had many immunities. If, in passing through an enemy's country, he was taken prisoner, he was liberated if his true character was proved. Thus it was, that Richard Cœur de Lion, making an attempt to pass through the territories of the Duke of Austria, assumed the guise of a pilgrim. Some shrines especially were efficacious in affording protection to one who could shew by his sign, that he had worshipped there. Such was that of 'Our Lady of Roc-Amadour';* and there were strict ordinances made as to the manufacture of the Signs, in order to preserve the monopoly to the

* See *Coll. Ant.*, vol. iv, pl. xxxix, and p. 168 *et seq.*

authorities of the shrine.* So that they had not only the use of a pious remembrance, but tended to identify the pilgrim; and he who could shew the greatest number would be held naturally in the greatest reverence. No one would deny him hospitality; a seat in the chimney corner, or a place at the board would be well repaid by his tales of other lands, or of other scenes; for he was the great traveller of the middle ages."

The *Ampullæ*, and other Signs, of Our Lady of Boulogne were first made known in this work. In vol. ii, plate XVII, is one of the former with the Virgin in a vessel, illustrating her history in connection with the fishermen, seamen, and port of Boulogne. To this day the vessel forms a conspicuous figure in the processional ceremonies of the day of Our Lady of Boulogne. The example of that *ampulla* which illustrates Mr. Waller's paper, gives merely the Virgin seated with the infant Jesus, the inscription being ✠ SIGNV. SCE. MARIE. DE. BOLONIA. It may be of the fourteenth century. Mr. Waller states that all the miraculous images of the Virgin Mary are *black*; and he explains the cause of this fact by reference to customs of remote antiquity, which have been adopted by generation after generation without any regard to consistency.



The shrine of "Our Lady of Hal" is represented by a circular plate in copper, perforated with holes for sewing it to the dress. The Virgin, crowned, is seated beneath a canopy, with the infant Jesus in her lap. On each side is

* *Idem*, p. 167.



an angel kneeling and holding a scroll. Beneath, "D'HAL". It is of the fifteenth century. The image of "Our Lady of Hal", by Brussels, Mr. Waller states, was presented to the town by Sophia, daughter of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, in 1267.

The shrine of "Our Lady of Walsingham", one of the most celebrated in this country, has been well recorded by the late Mr. J. Gough Nichols, and also by Mr. Waller; but the Signs are not so common as might have been expected. The example here given represents the "Annunciation", with "WALSYNHAM" beneath. It is of the fifteenth cen-



ture. The shrine of the Virgin at Walsingham, and that of Becket at Canterbury, are minutely and graphically described by Erasmus, in his *Colloquies*, a work of the highest literary and religious merit. In the *Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake*, the Pilgrim, who is "full on every side of images of tin and lead", first speaks of his visit to the Virgin on the north-west coast of England, about three miles from the sea, meaning Walsingham. "Her name is very renowned throughout all England; and thou canst not lightly find one in that island who can hope that his goods will be safe, unless he shall salute her every year

with some small gift, according to the measure of his estate. The village lives scarcely upon anything else but by the great company of people that resort thither. It is a College of Canons; and the College hath scarcely any other revenues than from the Virgin's liberality."*

Mr. Waller thinks that the Sign on the right belongs probably to the same place, on account of the similarity of the subject. Unfortunately, from the incompleteness of the inscription on the more important side, it has not been identified. Mr. Waller gives it as: S...AV.MVS.(?) MONAS-TERO...CO.? with the figure of a bishop or abbot. The reverse, with the figure of the Virgin, has the common AVE. MARIA.GRATIA.PLENA.DNS. (*tecum*).

The annexed Sign of the Virgin and Child in a tabernacle upon the back of a bird has also not yet been appropriated; and the same must be said of the following, from Mr. Cecil Brent's collection. It is, without doubt, connected with some foreign shrine of the Virgin, as the legend, AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA, in the elegant circular compartment indicates; but the emblem intended to point to the locality has not yet been explained. The device is two winged demons carving a heart, above which is a crown; and we may suggest some such shrine as that of "Our Lady of the Wounded Heart". Considerable pains have been taken with the design, which is in good taste. Mr. C. Brent considers that the open centre may have been for the insertion of some relic. (See next page.)



The next Sign is of Becket on horseback, and for it I

* *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, by H. M. Gent, p. 303. London, 1671.

am indebted to Mr. G. R. French, the editor of the *Catalogue of the Antiquities and Works of Art*, exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall, London, in 1861. It is the same re-



ferred to before as published by Mr. Hugo ; and it is now in the collection of Mr. John Evans, D.C.L., at Hemel Hempstead. It is a particularly interesting specimen, showing the rich and gorgeous array in which the arch-

bishop appeared in public. There is one similar in the British Museum, from my own collection; and, I think,



even superior, from the details of the costume being fuller.

The Signs of Becket have been already given and commented on in this work. Now, thanks to the indefatigable and laborious researches of Mr. J. B. Sheppard, I am able to add important documentary evidence on these Signs in connection with Louis XI, discovered by Mr. Sheppard in the Muniment Chamber of Canterbury Cathedral. It is a

letter, written from London, about the year 1480, to Prior Sellyng at Canterbury, in which Louis is stated as anxious for a token or sign of St. Thomas to wear on his hat. The request runs as follows:—"Also, Ser, ther is a man of his that bare youre letter and the cotype of youre patent unto the Kyng of Fraunce, sayd unto me, that the Kyng of Fraunce askyd whether that he had any tokyn of Saynt Thomas delyvered him from your lordship's wysdome, made as he might wer hit on his hatt in the worshypping of Saint Thomas; the whiche wer to hymm a gret pleasure."*

The *Signacula* on the opposite page were exhibited by Mr. E. C. Brodie of Salisbury, to the Society of Antiquaries in May 1854. Some time after, Mr. Akerman presented me with metallic casts of blocks, expressing a wish that I should introduce them into the *Collectanea Antiqua*.

Mr. Akerman describes fig. 1 as St. Michael; but it is doubtful; and the work is inferior and *bizarre*. Fig. 2 represents a preacher in a pulpit, above which is the head of the Saviour or of God the Father, with hand raised in benediction. Mr. Akerman considers it as the rising Sun. In the border is inscribed SOLI DEO HONOS ET AMOR ET GLORIA. Fig. 3, the sun within a crescent.

* From "A Notice of some MSS. selected from the Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury", published in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, 1875-6. Mr. Sheppard has also contributed more extended Notices to the Camden Society.

FIG. 1.

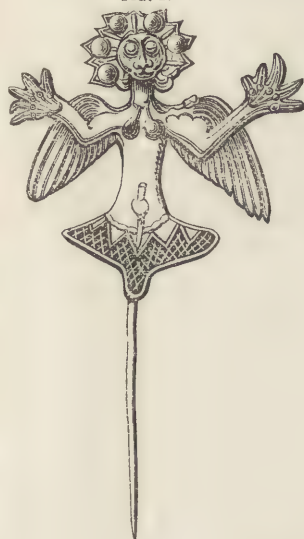


FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



DISCOVERED AT SALISBURY IN 1853-4, DURING EXCAVATIONS
MADE FOR SEWERS.

THE SAXON SHORE.

I HAVE already written at considerable length on some of the fortresses erected by the Romans on the line of coast called the *Littus Saxonicum*. But the subject is not exhausted, and by no means so well understood as might have been expected. Continually references are made to these fortresses which show that the writers have not correctly understood their character, nor the object for which they were constructed. In two instances, recent discoveries enable me to modify what I printed some years since on Bradwell-juxta-Mare and on the *Portus Adurni*. In relation to the latter place, I now correct an error in my *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, p. 23, which I am surprised I made; but in which, I see, I am in company with the late J. M. Kemble, whom I possibly may have led into this error. I see it is corrected in my *Report on Excavations made on the site of the Roman Castrum at Pevensey*, p. 4. The mistake alluded to is in placing the *Portus Adurni* at Portsmouth; and not where, of course, the name indicates it should be, close to Shoreham, at the mouth of the Adur. Feeling assured that Pevensey represented *Anderida*, I looked westward for the next visible *castrum*, and illogically took that at Porchester, while a moment's reflection should have convinced me that, although no ruins met the eye at Shoreham, yet the name of *Adur*, nevertheless, proves the position. It is probable, as I shall show, that the site of the *castrum* may yet be traced.

The term *Littus Saxonicum* has been imputed to two

very different causes, each of which has its advocates. The earlier and more numerous writers attributed the reason of the appellation to the fact that this tract or shore included parts of Britain chiefly oppressed by invasions of the Saxons, and, therefore, fortified against them. Others, among whom is the late Mr. Kemble,* repudiate this theory as unreasonable, and suggest another for which they give, so far as I can see, no evidence. They believe that along this extensive sea margin the Saxons had obtained a settlement by leave of the Romans; and that, therefore, the district might properly be called the Saxon Shore; but that to name it from the fact of its being the scene of continual attacks from an old and persistent enemy would have been undignified and degrading.

For any such settlement of Saxons in Britain under the Empire, I can find no historical authority whatever. Germans and Belgic Gauls, both history and monuments decide, were ever among the auxiliary forces under the legions in Britain, and among them were Frisii; and although it is possible that many of them might have had, from time to time, allotments of land when they had

* *The Saxons in England*, vol. i, p. 14. The Quadi and Marcomanni sent by Marcus Aurelius into Britain, as stated by Dion Cassius and referred to by Mr. Kemble, were, no doubt, drafted into the auxiliary forces; not received as colonists. Mr. Kemble cites Zosimus for the introduction of Vandals into Britain by Probus; but whether they were located in what is now Cambridgeshire, as Camden supposes, or in any other district, it is difficult to comprehend how they could have given the name of Saxon Shore to a long line of sea-coast where it is not probable they could have been settled; the term Saxon Shore, moreover, is not confined to Britain, but it extends to the coast of Gaul, to parts where it is not asserted that Saxons settled. See Böcking on the *Notitia*, vol. ii, p. 546, *et seq.* Bonn, 1853.

become superannuated; yet it is not within the range of rational probability to suppose that they were located over this extensive sea line, as colonists, from Brancaster in Norfolk to the mouth of the Adur in Sussex. Had there been any such distribution of land, there seems no reason why it should have been called Saxon rather than German; and it surely would have been but natural that the Imperial Government should have exacted from the colonists the easy tribute of protecting themselves against invasion. When we first find the *Littus Saxonicum* mentioned, it is in the celebrated *Notitia Dignitatum et Administrationum*, etc., a work which, in the state in which it has come down to us, must have been compiled or revised in the very latest years of the Imperial rule in Britain.* In this great military muster roll the Saxon Shore is associated with an extensive and powerful system of defence from what is now Norfolk to Sussex; an organisation of the most efficient kind, placed, at intervals, at points most accessible to invaders. In fortresses, which must have been impregnable, were large bodies of auxiliary horse and foot, and a legion taken from its previous headquarters in Caerleon.† This great military establishment had also civil officers, courts of justice, and other advantages of municipal government; each castrum complete in itself, and all subservient to a commander-in-chief, the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*. Under him were, a chief officer from the court of the general of foot, two auditors, a clerk of the treasury,‡ an adjutant, an assistant

* See *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*; and *Reports on Excavations at Lymne and at Pevensey*.

† Mr. Lewin makes a mistake in saying that this legion was always stationed at Rhutupium.—*Archæologia*, vol. xli, p. 434.

‡ *Commentarijus*, Horsley translates this as "Master of the prisons".

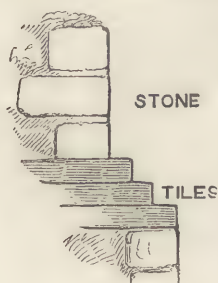
and under assistant, a registrar, notariēs, serjeants, and other officers. It is difficult, if not impossible, to specify the total amount of forces under the Count of the Saxon Shore, for *Numeri*, *Milites*, and *Equites*, are vague and fluctuating terms; but the legion at Rutupium, and the cohort at Regulbium, would indicate that the other stations were in equal numerical strength.



Othono, which stands first in the list, is now represented by remains brought to light a few years since at Bradwell-juxta-Mare in Essex. The name is reflected in that of Ithancester, as the place was called by the Saxons. Within the fortress is the ruined church or chapel of St. Peter-on-the-Wall, constructed largely of Roman materials; but when I first visited the site, although Roman masonry could be discerned cropping up here and there, the course of the walls could not be determined; and it is to Mr. J. Oxley Parker we are indebted for their disclosure by excavations, the above woodcut showing the character of the south wall.* In one part it stands from six to eight

* For this and the smaller cut, I am indebted to Mr. John Henry Parker, C.B. They illustrate an account I gave to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1865.

feet in height. Here the lower course of bonding tiles projects as a set-off in an unusual manner. Each of the three rows of tiles graduates outwards from the vertical line of the wall, the outermost and lowest row forming a perpendicular junction with the stoned face of the wall at its lowest course, above the foundation formed of boulders. Besides showing these architectural peculiarities, the sketch gives a notion of the great accumulation of earth in the interior of the castrum. The top of what remains of the wall is level with the interior surface, and not the slightest portion was visible prior to the excavations.



A section is given to show still more clearly the arrangement of the tiles and stones in the set-off. Mr. Lewin has given a good plan of the castrum to illustrate his report on Mr. Oxley Parker's excavations (*Archæologia*, vol. xli, pl. xx); but these peculiar architectural details escaped his observation.

The castrum is rectangular, or rather, nearly so, the north and south walls being not quite parallel; its extent within the walls is nearly five acres. There is a question whether the side facing the sea was walled, and the excavations did not determine the point. Had there been a wall, it is probable that some traces would have been found; and there are instances, not unfrequent, of a natural defence being made available for the purposes of an artificial protection. It was flanked with towers, but the foundations of two only were discovered. The chief entrance was in the centre of the western wall, and this was approached by a wide raised road which, to the present day, retains its pristine character for a considerable distance, running in a straight line towards the village of

Bradwell. At the entrance, and extending beyond it, both inwards and outwards, stands the ruined church of St. Peter, constructed wholly in materials taken from the castrum, and used *more Romano*. There is every reason to suppose that it may date from the seventh century, and be the very church which Cedd built and preached in, as stated by Beda.* The interior of the castrum disclosed a depth of several feet of a dark rich soil, part of which in mediæval times had been appropriated as a cemetery. The Roman buildings had been destroyed, and but few Roman remains were found. Several sceattas indicated an early Saxon occupation, or, at least, the presence of early Saxons. The Roman coins were from Gallienus to Arcadius and Honorius; not one inscription to throw light on the *Fortenses* or other military occupants, was met with. The origin of the name *Fortenses* is questioned. But the most reasonable supposition seems to be that it was taken from some legion with the surname of *Fortis*, such as the *Secunda Trajana*, which was honoured with the title of *Fortis*.

Dubris, retaining its name in Dover, from its central position as a port and town, as well as a castrum, was one of the most important stations on the Saxon Shore, and yet it is almost barren in historical and monumental records. Like other towns in the South of Britain it was only garrisoned at a comparatively late period. Those invaluable evidences of the presence of military bodies, inscribed tiles, prove that *Classarii*, or marines, were permanently stationed here, and also at the next port, *Lemanis*. Of the *Tungricani* in connection with *Dubris* we know nothing beyond what the *Notitia* tells us. But as the *Tungri* of *Belgica Secunda*, of which the present

* *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. iii, c. 21.

Tongres was a capital city, they occupy a prominent place in history.

Dover is the only one of these important fortresses which never succumbed in the fall of the Roman power in Britain. When the Saxons, from piratical invaders, became masters of the land, the maritime bulwarks lost their importance, and were allowed to sink into decay; or they became mere quarries for religious and other edifices which gradually rose around them; Dover, however, was an exception. Its port and position as one of the chief entrances to Britain, the nearest to Gaul, and the starting place of the great military road through London to the north, secured for it, as a matter of necessity, exemption, not only from spoliation, but also from neglect. Its lighthouses, which guided at night the Roman shipping, and the mural fortifications, seem to have been left to a natural fate; but there is difficulty in imagining at any time a total cessation of commerce, of markets, and of civil and municipal institutions so essential to the very existence of a large population; and thus we can picture Dover merging quietly from a Roman into a Saxon town, unsubjected to any disastrous or violent change in its liberties and self-government.

Lemannis.—The *Portus Lemanis*, in early times one of the great keys of Britain, has undergone one of those changes common to maritime districts; and, at the time of the compilation of the *Notitia*, as we have the work, it seems to have lost the character of a port; thus the word *Portus* is here omitted; and the excavations we made on the site of the castrum, called Studfall, at Lymne, afford remarkable evidence on this point. We noticed that many of the stones of the great gateway had been used in buildings previous to their application for the castrum. One of them,

three feet in length, proved to have been an altar dedicated apparently to Neptune, by Aufidius Pantera, Præfect of the British Fleet.* This stone must have been under the sea for some time; for, firmly attached to it, were many of the marine shell-fish called *barnacles*; and a stone, found in the ruins of the house in the interior of the castrum, bore similar evidence of having been submerged in the sea. The secondary use of these stones was also confirmatory evidence of the late date of the castrum. As at Dover, the *Classiarii* had left their mark upon the tiles in various forms;† but we found no record of the Turnacenses, drawn from the district of Turnacum, in Belgic Gaul. The coins we discovered (261 in number), with one exception, extended only from Gallienus, the latest being of Gratian. Of Carausius and Allectus there were no fewer than thirty-six.‡

One of the peculiarities of the castrum was the absence of a south wall. It was rendered unnecessary by the barrier afforded by water. The late Mr. R. Elliott, engineer of the great sea wall, assured me that at high tides, were the wall removed, there would be full seven feet of water at the foot of the castrum.

Branodunum, now Brancaster, was the most remote, in a northerly direction; and, with the exception of the most southerly of these stations, that of which the least is known. It has been almost, if not quite, levelled for building materials. Even a continuous survey of the foundations, the Rev. James Lee Warner (who has printed a paper on the subject) considers impossible. He says that "the 'fossa' remains"; and tells us that "the camp

* *Report on Excavations made on the Site of the Roman Castrum at Lymne*, p. 25, and pl. vii.

† See *Report*, pl. vi.

‡ *Idem.*, pl. ix.

was originally a square of 190 yards, exclusive of the corners, which were rounded. The east and west faces of the square, judging from the level of the ground, appear to have had in their centre the Porta Decumana and its corresponding gate opposite. The north face fronts the adjoining marshes at about 300 yards distance. The south is completely transformed and obliterated by a public road, with fences on each side of it." From some very partial excavations made by Mr. Warner, he ascertained that "the main wall was eleven feet in thickness, faced on the exterior with wrought blocks of sandstone, which were firmly set in mortar with joints of three inches minimum thickness.

The walls are probably in a much better state than Mr. Warner imagines, for most probably the earth has accumulated several feet above the foundations and lower courses, as was the case with the castrum at Bradwell, and the castra on the line of the Great Wall in the north so successfully excavated by Mr. Clayton. Previous to that gentleman's researches, the walls were not visible, yet he found them to be well preserved to the extent of several courses; and he was enabled to lay open the gateways and their guard-chambers, discovering, at the same time, inscriptions and sculptures of the highest interest. There may yet lie buried at Brancaster similar remains to repay systematic excavations; and we may hope that the present proprietor may be induced to follow the example of Mr. Oxley Parker and Mr. Clayton.

The Dalmatians who supplied the cavalry which garrisoned Branodunum were among the forces in the north of Britain, as appears by the military diplomas of Trajan and Hadrian, and, by lapidary inscriptions. See Dr. Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale*. A cohort is also mentioned by the *Notitia* as stationed at Magna on the line of the Wall.

Gariannonum, now Burgh Castle, unlike Branodunum, yet stands, with its grand walls and buttresses, upon elevated ground overlooking the marshes through which the Yare and the Waveney flow to sea, near Great Yarmouth. It is one of our noblest monuments of imperial Rome ; and yet a few years since, having survived the ravages of devouring time, it narrowly escaped the more certain destruction of modern speculation ; but the late Sir John Boileau purchased the site ; and thus patriotically saved the castrum, and won the gratitude of all who can estimate the value of our historical monuments ; and, indeed, of all who possess taste and good feeling. The son inherits the father's spirit ; and so Burgh Castle may be considered as an inalienable heirloom for future generations.

Like Richborough, Burgh Castle has but three walls. On the western side, which overlooks the low, marshy land, no sign of a wall is visible. At the instigation of Sir John Boileau, Mr. Harrod made excavations along this side of the castrum with a view to ascertain whether it was walled originally.* He succeeded in discovering at several points in a straight line, very strong foundations laid upon strong wooden piling, evidently intended to carry a superstructure of importance, which Mr. Harrod considered was a wall similar to those yet standing. This may be doubted ; and a platform or wharf may be suggested. The measurement of the eastern wall, in the centre of which is the chief entrance, he gives as about 640 feet ; that of the north and south walls as about 300 feet each. In height they are about fourteen feet high and nine feet broad, spreading at the foundations to eleven or twelve feet.

Mr. Harrod makes some remarks on the state of the low

* A Report of Mr. Harrod's researches is printed in *Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, vol. v, p. 146, 1856.

lands in the earliest historic period, which so accord with my own experiences in many similar localities, such as Richborough, Reculver, etc.; and they are so pertinent that I transcribe them:—"Tradition states the whole extent of the valleys of the Yare and the Waveney to have been once open sea; and in 1826 a gentleman who pressed geology into his service, boldly stated this to have been the case in *Roman times*; and, notwithstanding the weakness of his arguments, and their complete refutation by Mr. Richard Taylor, the idea became so firmly rooted in the minds of very many, that it is generally looked on as an established fact, which it would be folly to doubt about, that during the occupation of the Romans these valleys were open sea. I do not believe that these valleys were ever open sea since the country round has been occupied by man. On the meadow at Norwich, where the Eastern Counties Railway station has been built, was a tumulus, which was opened by the late Mr. Woodward (I think in 1826) and found to contain British urns of rude fabric. A tumulus would hardly have been made in 'open sea', in the midst of an 'estuary', or of a 'tidal river'. Roman remains have also been found on the river banks, and also on the banks of the Waveney, in spots where they could not possibly have been placed if the height of the waters had been very different to the present level; and my late excavations will also, I conceive, be found to furnish strong evidence in favour of this conclusion. A large number of Roman urns have recently been found in a meadow closely adjoining the river at Ditchingham, near Bungay, 1855."*

Who the horse soldiers, called *Stablesiani*, were, is a question not readily to be answered. They often occur in the *Notitia*, so they must have been numerous and widely distributed, and they are always named as *equites*; they are

* *Notice of Excavations*, etc., p. 147.

mentioned also in one foreign inscription and perhaps in more. In Britain they appear only in connection with Gariannonum. Pancirollus considers that they were named from places in Gaul, Spain, and elsewhere, such as *Stabulum*; but Böcking, the more recent editor of the *Notitia*, reasonably objects to this derivation, but he does not substitute one more acceptable.

Regulbium retains its name, almost unchanged, in Reculver. Here was stationed a cohort of the *Vetasii* or *Betasii*, under a tribune. The Betasii were a people of the Second or Lower Germany, well known in history, and in lapidary inscriptions discovered in the north of this country;* but not one at Reculver.

Since I printed the *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*; and an account of the Roman columns of Reculver church, in the sixth volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, Mr George Dowker, on behalf of the Kent Archaeological Society, made excavations on the site of the church, and on the inner side of the eastern wall. The former corroborated wholly my views on the Roman origin of this interesting building, by developing further portions of the side walls and the flooring, all pure Roman work. The eastern wall of the castrum was laid open to the depth of eight feet. At the top it was eight feet wide, three feet lower down, nine feet wide, and ten at the bottom, which was based upon boulders, as I had ascertained previously from the portions overhanging the sea-shore. The two set-offs, an unusual feature, were merely the outward facing of the two lowermost strata of the wall, which, originally, must have been much higher than eight feet, the height Mr. Dowker found it. As these walls were built in thick

* See *Lapidarium Septentrionale*; and *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xii, p. 12.

layers, the junctions would not have the full tenacity of the layers, and therefore, when force was used to break down the walls, the masses would separate more readily at the junctions, and this will explain the present flat and even state of the top. The walls at Richborough, Lymne, and Pevensey may be referred to as indicating nearly the original height of those of Reculver. The natural accumulation of earth in places which have never ceased to be inhabited will in part account for the high elevation of the ground within the walls.

Mr. Dowker's opinion of the condition of the land to the south of the *castrum*, in the time of the Romans, is precisely similar to that of Mr. Harrod's as regards the marshes and meadows below Burgh Castle. He considers that it is now substantially the same as it was in the time of the Romans. Evidences, analogous to those before mentioned, which have occurred to him and to me, lead to this conviction.

Rutupiæ, Richborough, has pre-eminence in the stations on the Saxon shore, from its antiquity, its historical associations, the preservation of its walls, and the discoveries which have been made there. For these I must refer to my volume before mentioned. Unlike Reculver, Richborough was left uninhabited; and thus the accumulation of earth in the interior is not considerable. Of late years excavations have been made by the Kent Archæological Society, which are detailed in the *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. viii. They were directed to the substructions beneath the cruciform masonry in the south-eastern part of the interior, but without effecting any important results.

Mr. Sheppard has succeeded to some extent in tracing the road from Canterbury to Richborough, marked as twelve miles in the second iter of the Itinerary of Antoninus, *A Vallo ad Portem Ritupis*. It runs, he considers, from St.

Martin's Hill to near Pine Wood; then between Wickham and Ickham, at the latter of which places extensive foundations of a Roman villa were discovered a few years ago. But Roman roads are not always obedient to a summons to appear even from the most energetic and earnest explorers; and Mr. Sheppard is resolved to review his judgment and try to connect the portions he considers decided by intermediate traces not yet fully examined. As at Walton-juxta-Mare, the *via* can be recognised running in a straight line from the chief gate to the village of Richborough. The *via* from Richborough to Dover is being examined by Mr. George Dowker also in the hope of being completely ascertained.

The second legion, surnamed *Augusta*, was stationed in head-quarters at *Isca Silurum*, Caerleon, from which place it was drawn to take part in the great military operations in the north, in the reigns of Hadrian and Severus. There is an important inscription* which shows it was at *Isca* in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus; and this alone would prove that it had not then been removed to Rutupiaë, where we find it in the *Notitia*.

In my *Antiquities of Richborough*, etc., page 54, I have given the plan of foundations of a Roman building at the foot of the hill cut through by the railway. It is of the highest interest in relation to the question of the state of the low land in the time of the Romans. It could not have been submerged to the extent generally imagined.

It may seem almost needless to re-assert what I have heretofore stated; and what may be substantiated by a close examination of the locality itself: that the north wall of the castrum descended the shelving ground and made a slight return at the bottom on the east; but that there are no further indications of a wall on this side,

See Mr. J. E. Lee's *Isca Silurum*.

below the cliff. This cliff was, no doubt, considered a sufficient defence, as it is obvious it must have been. The castrum at Larçay, near Tours (*Col. Ant.*, vol. iv, p. 8), is in this respect precisely similar, a wall on one side being superseded by a precipitous cliff. Lymne also may be compared; and, I believe, Burgh.

Anderida is represented in the noble ruins at Pevensey, in Sussex. They are not inferior to those of Richborough, while they afford architectural peculiarities not to be found in the great Rutupian fortress. For these I must refer to the etchings of the late W. H. Brooke, in the *Report*,* printed for the subscribers to the Excavations, made under the guidance of myself and Mr. Lower. It is among the largest in extent; enclosing upwards of nine acres; and is the best preserved. Its grand and majestic appearance is, however, obscured in parts, by farm appendages, and for a considerable space the walls have been undermined for building materials.

Our excavations enabled us to prove, contrary to the general opinion, that the south side, opposite the sea, and adjoining the marshes, was walled; and in the north wall we laid open a gate-way, constructed, not at right angles, but somewhat obliquely; and we also discovered a very narrow postern entrance in the south wall. The interior of the castrum we found had been raised by the Norman possessors to make the walls available for their peculiar mode of defence. (See *Report*, p. 18.)

No inscriptions have been found at Pevensey; the coins are comparatively few; and it is remarkable that they extend only from Carausius to Gratian. At Brancaster, Bradwell, and at Lymne, coins of the Higher Empire are,

* *Report of Excavations made upon the Site of the Roman Castrum at Pevensey.* London, 1858.

also, few in number, a fact in evidence of the comparatively late date of these fortresses.

Although it would seem there could be no possible doubt that the grand remains of Pevensey represent Anderida, yet no Roman site has been more disputed. From the time of Camden downwards, to the present day, Anderida has been located at places where every distinctive requisite for a station upon the Saxon Shore is wanting; and this in the face of the demonstrative architectural remains, which, in the very place where they might have been expected, should have rendered a question perfectly needless. Mr. Holloway, in his *History of Romney Marsh*,* devotes nearly eighteen pages to the subject. After citing at length the various opinions, most of which, upon the most insufficient evidence, are against Pevensey, he decides, with others, in favour of Newenden. I must refer such of my readers as are inclined to review these *pros* and *cons*, and who have not yet seen the castrum at Pevensey, to this work; and also to what has more recently been printed in the *Collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society*,† contenting myself in referring to the *Report* before mentioned; and to a *résumé* of arguments therein advanced and, I believe, sustained. 1. The stations or *castra* on the Saxon shore were all walled with stone; and, therefore, with one exception, that of the *Portus Adurni*, they are, more or less, yet to be seen, in ruins. The castrum at Pevensey follows in rotation the others which have been identified. 2. All of the sites proposed, with the exception of Pevensey, are totally deficient in the indispensable requisite for stations on the Saxon Shore, namely stone walls, which alone could shelter large bodies of military forces permanently stationed. 3. The *Portus Adurni* is

* London, J. Russell Smith, 1849.

† Vols. xxvii and xxix.

fixed at the mouth of the *Adur*, at Shoreham. As at Felixstowe in Suffolk, a walled castrum has been submerged: the absence of visible remains at or near Shoreham, may be attributed to a like cause. Bramber does not afford what seems imperative.

Newenden has retained several advocates. Feeling I should like to see the ancient earthworks there, I visited them during the autumn, in company with my friend Mr. John Harris.* They are probably British; but, from their peculiar position, might have been thrown up at a post-Roman period. Roman they cannot be; and they could not have been held for any length of time by Romans, for not the slightest vestige of Roman work has ever been found there. Mr. James Selmes, the proprietor, about twenty-five years ago, dug through the principal mound to the base, cutting it completely in two; and cut another trench from the centre to the outside, at right angles to the first; but he found no trace of pottery, coins, or building materials; nor has he ever been able to find anything of the kind near the place.

Portus Adurni.—Although the mouth of the *Adur*, near Shoreham, suggests the site of the *castrum* assigned to the *Exploratores*, no remains of it are now visible. Great

* We were greatly assisted in our excursion by the hospitality of Mr. Latter of Harbourne, and of Mr. Selmes of Lossenham. I must also record my gratitude to Mr. Rodmell of Hawkhurst, who furnished me with the means of protection when exposed to pelting rain in a long ride. The Weald of Kent must be visited to be understood, or to be conceived. Railways only skirt it; the interior intercourse is accelerated by vans and omnibuses. Shakespeare rested his Franklin from the Wild at Rochester, for his first day's journey to London, and consistently.

changes have here taken place ; the sea, instead of receding, as at Lymne, has gained upon the land within the historic period, it is computed by geologists, upwards of half a mile ; and, consequently, we are compelled to believe that the *castrum* has been submerged, like one at Felixstowe, in Suffolk, not mentioned in the *Notitia*, and therefore, we infer, of an earlier date than most of the others ; and destroyed by the sea, or rendered useless when the fortification of the Saxon Shore was resolved upon and completed.

The absence of historical evidence to support the notion that the name "Saxon Shore" sprang from a settlement or colony of Saxons, is coupled with a corresponding want of monumental or sepulchral testimony such as abounds in localities selected by the earliest Saxon immigrants. This long line of sea-coast, so far from being distinguished by Teutonic remains, is rather marked by their paucity. Nowhere in its entire range do we find rich cemeteries such as have been discovered in the interior parts of Kent, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and in some of the midland counties. The littoral burials are Romano-British, with no great admixture of Saxon, such as must have been expected and would have been found, had the district ever been early populated by Saxons or by any other Teutonic race.

ROMAN LEADEN COFFINS AND OSSUARIA.

PLATES XIX AND XIXA.

SINCE the publication of the third volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, in which an account was given of most of the discoveries of Roman leaden coffins, both in this country and in France, many more examples have occurred; from some of which, and attendant circumstances, we have been able to add to our information on the varied sepulchral usages in Britain and in Gaul. I drew attention, also, to coffers in lead (*ossuaria*) containing calcined bones, and gave a representation of one in the Rouen Museum. Since then some interesting examples have been found at York and Chester which will form an important part of my present report. The article referred to has not only been of use in enabling many in this country to understand the value of these long neglected works of art; but it also influenced my friend the late Abbé Cochet to devote his discriminating energy and intelligence to the subject, to which he gave a chapter in his *Normandie Souterraine*; and, subsequently, a pamphlet* in which, for comparison, he introduced several cuts from the *Collectanea*, and an abridgment of the text. The Abbé cannot be mentioned by me without my paying a further tribute to his earnestness and consistency. His papers in the *Archæologia*, communicated chiefly through his friend

* *Mémoire sur les Cercueils de Plomb dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen-Age*. Rouen, 1870-71.

Mr. W. M. Wylie, show not only his antiquarian knowledge, but his sense of the duties of a foreign correspondent.

There can be no doubt that one of the chief incentives to the conquest of Britain by the Romans was the wealth of the mines. Of this there is abundant and well known historical evidence; but the corroborative monumental or archæological testimony has not been so fully adduced and insisted on as it might have been. Taking in view the lead mines which furnished the material of the works under consideration, the produce must have been enormous, and the districts numerous. Pliny tells us that the ore was found so abundantly in Britain, and so near the surface, that it was necessary to restrain the collecting by legal enactment.* The large number of moulded blocks of lead, commonly called pigs, which have been recorded as found in various parts, testify to the early and systematic working of the lead mines. These pigs weigh from 150 to 190 lbs. and upwards, and, therefore, were costly. From the quantity which have been found of late years some notion may be imagined of the vast amount exported to Italy and sent to various parts of Britain for sale to the manufacturers of leaden utensils of various kinds. These pigs date from the reign of Claudius to that of Marcus Aurelius; or rather to Severus, if we may accept that found at Lillebonne as having been brought from Britain.† Two, exclusive of the imperial stamp, bear the names of British tribes, the Ceangi or Cangi, and the Brigantes, a recognition, at least, of nationality not

* "In Britannia summo terræ corio adeo large, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat."—*Hist. Nat.*, lib. xxxiv, c. 17. The object of this law was, of course, to protect the imperial revenue from unlicensed persons working on their own account.

† *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. iii, pl. xxiii, fig. 6.

extinguished. The working of so many mines must have required thousands of hands, and by far the greater part must have been Britons, who, with the Gauls, were expert metallurgists, and accomplished in manufacturing metallic implements and utensils.*

It is to lead as applied to sepulchral purposes I am at present restricted; and the inquiry leads to the conviction of the prosperity and even luxury of the province, when we find this costly metal manufactured with such skill



Height, 15 inches ; diameter, 10 inches.

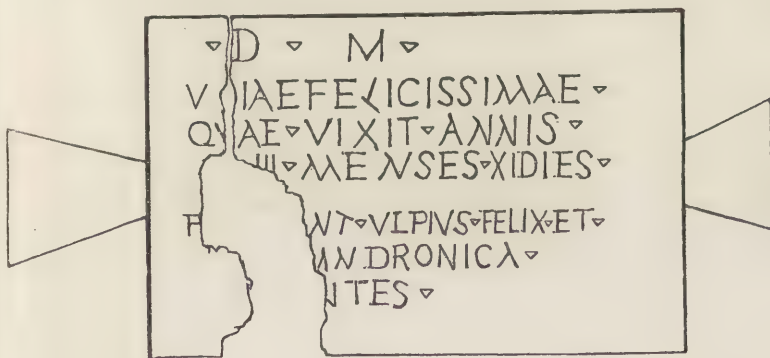
and so profusely as to supply not only the inhabitants of towns, but those of villages and villas, with one of the daily requisites of advanced civilisation. Within half a

* Works in bronze and lead are not unfrequently found marked with the names of Britons and Gauls.

century or a little more, hundreds of Roman leaden coffins have been recorded as discovered; probably as many again have been melted; and there is no reason why this disin-terment may not have gone on for a thousand years or more, and no doubt there are many hundreds yet buried which may never be brought to light. They are especially exposed to the cupidity of ignorance. The unthinking workmen who exhume them see nothing but lead, of which they all know the value, and know how to sell it; and their employers, seldom much better educated, if they claim it, do so only to get the profit as their legal right.

For the engraving, on the opposite page, of a rare and interesting leaden *ossuarium*, as well as for those following relating to discoveries made on the outside of the city of York, I am indebted to the Rev. Canon Raine and the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

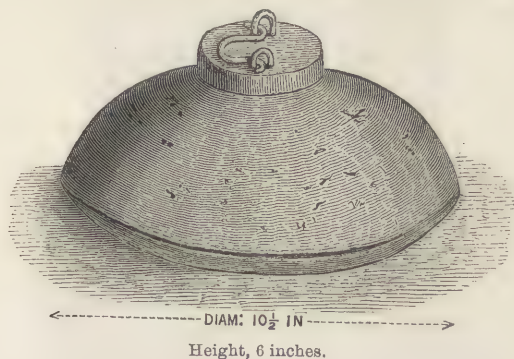
When discovered, it was half filled with calcined human bones. It is covered with a cupola, also in lead, put on without solder. The inscription, here given in an ex-



tended form, has been cut by a sharp pointed implement in a neat and clear manner; and it is fortunately so well preserved as to leave no room for conjecture excepting in the *prænomina* of the dedicators. It records the death of

"Julia Felicissima who lived (it may have been 13 or 23) ..iii years, eleven months, and ... days. Her parents, Ulpus Felix and ... Andronica have placed this." Ulpus Felix was, no doubt, a wealthy citizen of Eburacum; but conjecture helps us no farther. Still there is a striking coincidence, as regards names, in what Canon Raine has noticed. He observes that "in the great work of Gruter it is recorded that one M. Ulpus Felix was a master or conservator of the Lollian fountain at Rome, in the consulship of Bradua and Varus, which synchronises with the year 160 of our era. We learn also from the same authority, that Ulpia Felicissima, the daughter of Marcus, set up a monument to her husband Titus Rasidius Amarantus. It is possible enough that all these persons were more or less connected."*

The cut here given shows an *ossuarium* in lead of a



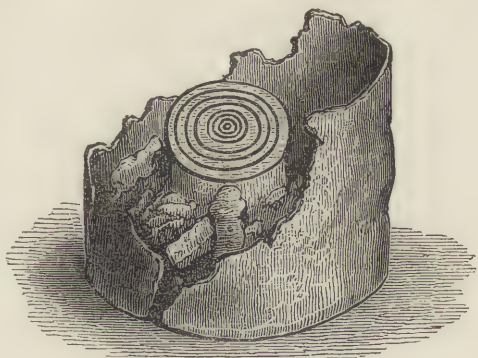
different shape, likewise from the Roman cemetery at York, and now preserved in the York Museum.

The third, also in the York Museum, is referred to in the following notice by the late Mr. Hargrove, the MS. of which Canon Raine has kindly placed in my hands. "On

* *Annual Report of the Council of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* for 1875, p. 5.

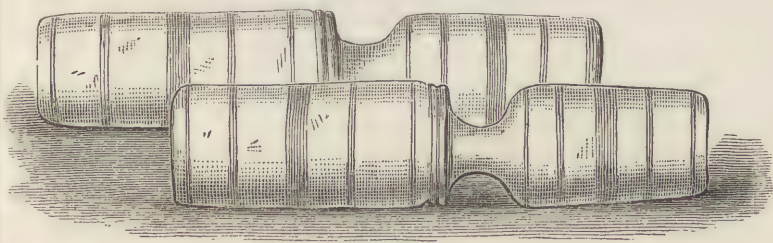
the 7th of June, 1840, whilst the workmen were forming the railroad outside the Barwalls, known by the name of the North Midland Railway, they came to a leaden coffin of very large dimensions, about four feet from the surface of the earth. On breaking into it they discovered a human skeleton, surrounded with lime, and the articles here numbered.

“Near the head of the skeleton was a *large lead urn*



Height, 5 inches; width, 6 inches.

filled with ashes and burnt bones. A little lower in the coffin, and on one side of the skeleton, was the *smaller lead urn*, also occupied with the ashes of one of more tender years, perhaps (judging from the size of the urn) the remains of an infant. And, nearer the thigh and leg bones, were four *glass vessels* or *tear bottles*, two being placed together with the open tops joined, so that, when



found, the four bottles appeared as two; a rim round two of them, fitting close to those which had not any rim at the top. There was a ring in one of them which, when exposed to the air, mouldered away.



“The lead of the coffin was one inch thick, and weighed 38 stone 10 pounds, but it was not preserved, as the workmen broke it to pieces immediately and sold it to a broker in the city as old lead.

“These leaden urns are very rare to be met with, and the combined or united tear bottles have never been met with in England before.”

Canon Raine remarks that Mr. Hargrove was in error in supposing that there were two *ossuaria*; he mistook the cupola for a second vessel.

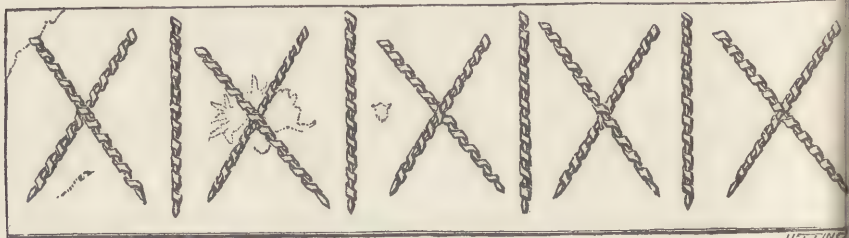
This interment presents several novel and remarkable features. There is the burial of the entire body, and the ashes of another from the funeral pile, in the same coffin. This may be accounted for in supposing that the ashes from the pyre are those of a child who died anterior to the death of the parent; and that they were transferred from their temporary resting-place to the leaden coffin. The glass bottles must have been made for the purpose of

fitting the one into the other; but I am not aware of any similar adaptation, and whether they were specially manufactured for a funereal object, or for any other purpose, they are an additional evidence of the skill of the Romans in the working of glass, and it may be in the town of Eburacum itself.

In a visit to the Chester Museum in 1878 under the guidance of Mr. Thomas Hughes, I noticed another variety of the *ossuaria* in lead. This, with three which I sketched in the Museum of Lyons, complete the examples of *ossuaria* in lead so far as at present I am able to collect them. These were sketched under very unfavourable circumstances; they may be estimated at about eight or ten inches in height. I could obtain no account of them, and one alone seems mentioned in the Catalogue of the Museum, 1855, the only edition I have to refer to.

The coffins in lead in the York Museum are ten. Of these, one is connected with a remarkable interment of which I transcribe an account in Canon Raine's Report, before referred to. "At the end of the month of May in the present year (1875), the workmen who were digging out the foundations for the wall of the booking office of the new station came, at the depth of some four feet, to a stone coffin lying north and south. It was some six feet and a half in length, and nearly a foot and a half wide at the top. When the lid was removed, we found that the chest, which was of coarse sandstone, was lined with lead, which had a covering of its own. This lid was curiously ornamented in a corded pattern, and is the only specimen, I believe, of this kind of ornamentation that has been discovered in York. It varies considerably from the examples of the same kind of work that have been found in London and Colchester. The lid adhered very closely to the leaden shell below it, having been probably fastened

down with cement. When it was removed, a remarkable sight presented itself. To the height of three or four inches from the top the shell was filled with gypsum.



Lid of the Coffin.

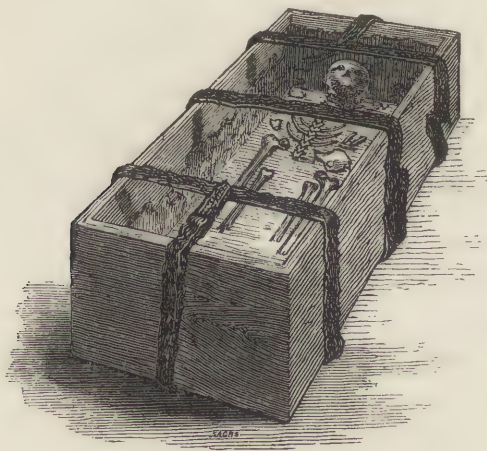


Pattern of the actual size.

The body had been laid in a shallow bed of this substance, which had thus been poured in until it had covered the breast to a depth of a couple of inches. This gypsum had become gradually hardened, and took and retained, above and below, the impression of the body which had mouldered away within it. The head of the body, however, was exposed, and had, in all probability, been raised originally upon a pillow, which had removed it from contact with the gypsum. The facial part of the head, eyes, cheeks, and nose, had given way, and, in consequence, the back part of the head seemed to be lying in the position in which you would expect to find the forehead. In this place was found a long folded tress, the back hair, in fact, of a young Roman lady. It might almost have been combed when it was first discovered, it was so limp. Fixed in it are two beautifully wrought pins of jet. By

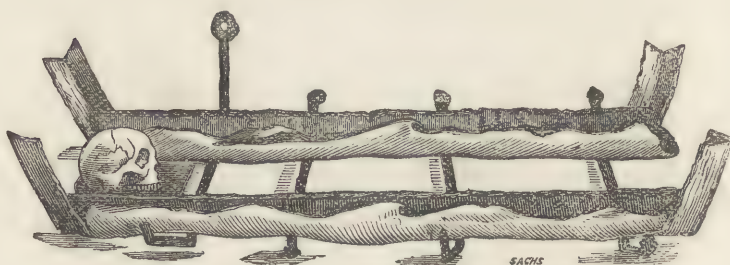
the side of what had once been the cheeks, and on the fragments of the skull, were other small portions of hair, which have been preserved. The bones of the skull and body were all in pieces; very little remained of the body or its garniture save this beautiful curl. It is that of a young girl whose hair had never reached its full growth, and who was probably fifteen or sixteen years of age when she died. Under the coffin were found a piece of wrought bronze, and a second brass coin of Domitian."

In many instances have been noticed with the coffins the remains of wood and of iron bands. A little reflection explains that these adjuncts indicate wooden coffins or framework, bound round with iron; in some cases there are iron bands without indications of wood. The heavy weight of the lead, often increased by the slackened lime, must have made woodwork and iron indispensable, especially as the coffins had sometimes to be carried a considerable distance. Canon Raine had the good fortune to discover, in 1875, during the railway excavations, a coffin in lead with the iron bands *in situ*. By his kindness it is here represented.



Length, 6 feet 2 inches; width, 21 inches.

For comparison, I give the remains, as I saw and sketched them, of a coffin bound with iron bands, excavated, many years since, opposite New Broad Street, in the City of London. It lay at the depth of fourteen feet; and, as the foreman of the works told me, in a bank to the left, or outside, of the course of the old Houndsditch. An iron band, like those in the sketch, passed lengthways over the coffin. This, and the bulk of the lead, had been abstracted when I saw the remains.*



Length, 6 feet 2 inches; width, 2 feet 10 inches; the pieces at the corners, 1 foot 5 inches, and 1 foot 6 inches.

The late Rev. C. Wellbeloved, in his *Eburacum*, had not much to say on the subject of Roman leaden coffins; and Mr. Hargrove's discovery appears to have been unknown to him. He remarks (page 112): "Thoresby has recorded the discovery of two at the beginning of the last century, at the Roman burial-place, out of Bootham-bar. One of these, seven feet long, was inclosed in planks of oak, two and a-half inches thick, fastened together by large nails: the heart of the oak was firm, and the lead fresh and pliable. The other had apparently not been protected by wood, and was brittle and almost wholly consumed. A leaden coffin was recently discovered by the workmen employed in excavating for the railway station, containing

* For these two cuts I am indebted to the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

a skeleton of considerable size ; and at the same time and place, another of much smaller dimensions, containing portions of the skeleton of a child mingled with lime and earth. The former has the appearance of a sheet of lead wrapped about the body, and 6 ft. 6 in. in length : the latter is a small oblong chest without a lid, 2 ft. 9 in. long, 12 in. wide, and 11 in. deep, the corners not soldered, nor in any way fastened together. No remains of a wooden enclosure were found with either of these ; the larger is thin and brittle, the smaller is in a much sounder state. They form part of the Antiquarian Collections of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society."

If we were to trace upon a map the sites of the recorded discoveries in Kent of Roman and Saxon remains, they would be found to abound in a far higher degree than in any other part of the same extent, from Chatham to Dover, on the north side of the present high road to London, which is almost entirely upon the line of the great Roman military *via*, known as the Watling Street. Maps are conclusive evidence of the most populous parts of a country ; from the comparatively close packing of towns and villages ; and the markings of ancient cemeteries would as certainly indicate similar conditions in long past times. The traces of buildings may have been rooted out even to the foundations, but the graves of the owners made deeper in the earth, have been more secure from destruction, and have usually had a longer respite until they, in their turn, have been made to give way before the wants of the ever increasing living. From the delvers of all kinds regarding only their own instinct and interest, the antiquary has to strive to snatch an extrinsic treasure which the man of business is incapable of understanding ; and often are the instructive characters of the past laid open only to be obliterated for ever. The *Archæologia Cantiana* shows that

the Kent Society has been successful in rescuing valuable historical materials from imminent destruction, by the efforts of earnest members whose names are honourably recorded, and are a guarantee for future researches.

While the entire length of this important road is flanked with Roman and Saxon cemeteries, the districts of Faversham and Sittingbourne are particularly rich in the surroundings of the dead. To a great extent this must be owing to the fertility of the land and to the creeks which lead to the sea. That these desirable localities were appreciated by the Saxons is proved not only by the superior richness of their remains, but also by the fact that the earliest documentary evidence shows that much of the land belonged to the crown, having, doubtless, been allotted as regal property in the first settlements made by the Saxons. These were probably peaceable; the superior Roman villas became dwellings for the nobles; and the old cemeteries, as we often find, were resorted to and continued by the new comers. But it must have been often the case that the wealthier Romans had cemeteries exclusively for their own families upon their own lands, and away from the common burial-places of the towns and villages; and such were those of which I have now to speak.

In the sixth volume I gave a notice of two coffins in lead dug up at Bex Hill by Milton near Sittingbourne, but only the earthen and glass vessels found with them were figured. In 1869, I communicated to *The Gentleman's Magazine* a notice of a third coffin found at Bex Hill, which, at my suggestion, was liberally presented by Mr. Jordan to the Charles Museum at Maidstone. It is a remarkably fine example, measuring 6 ft. 7 in.; one sheet of lead, of the width of 5 ft. 1 in., forms the bottom and the sides; the pieces for the two ends are separate and welded on.

It is ornamented upon the lid and sides, as shown by the cut which represents the head-piece; one of the medallions,



of Medusa's head, being given in an enlarged scale on the side. It will be perceived that the \times -shaped moulding resembles that on the Colchester coffin, figured in the third volume of the *Col. Ant.*,* and in other instances, as these pages will show. The Medusa's head is well designed and worked, and shows a good style of art. The same may be said of the ornaments on the example following, preserved in the museum of Mr. George Payne of Sittingbourne, to whose intelligence and spirit we are indebted for the preservation of these and many other valuable ancient remains from the vicinity of Sittingbourne. I have to thank the Council of the Kent Archæological Society for these and the following illustrations from a

* This coffin I saved from being melted through the medium of the late Mr. Bateman. From his museum at Youlgrave, it has been transferred, with the entire collections, to the Corporation of Sheffield.

paper by Mr. G. Payne in the ninth volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*.



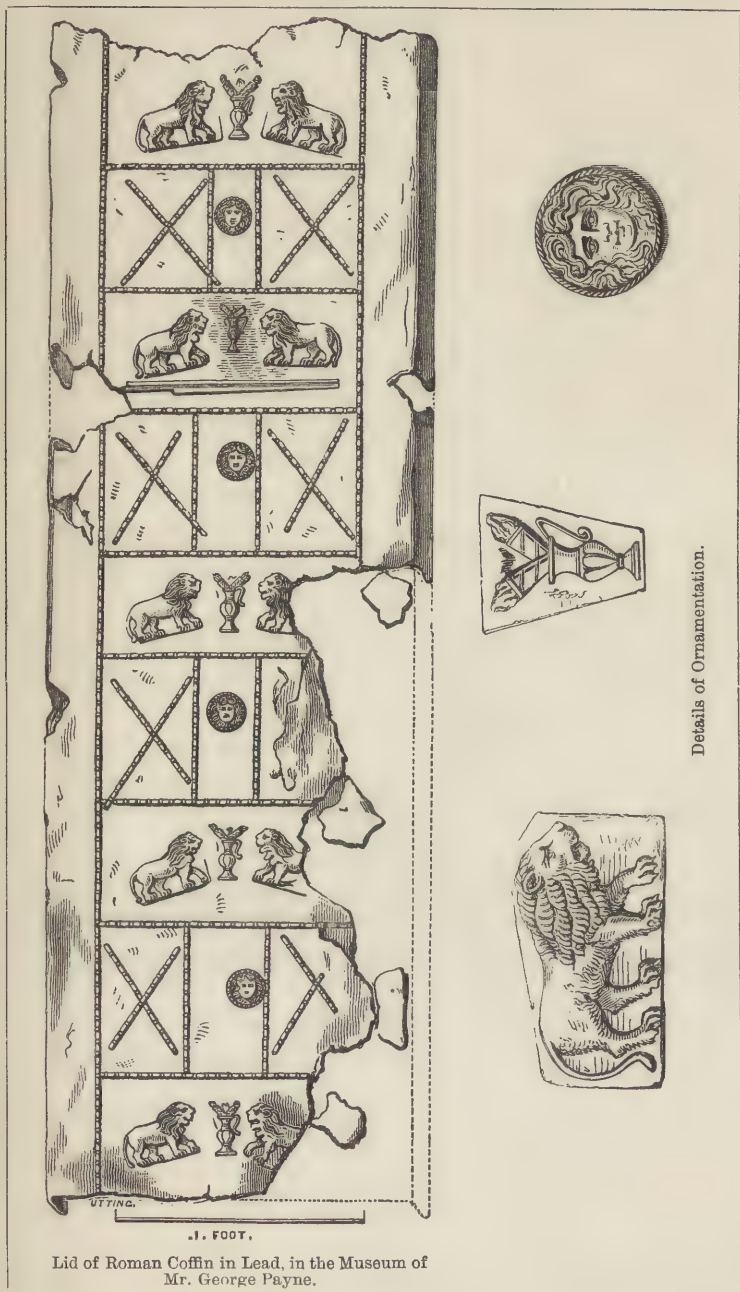
The above coffin, it has to be mentioned, contained a long slender phial, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height; and, on the outside, was a glass vessel, $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, with the maker's name in relief on the bottom, I BONI.

The credit of the preservation of another coffin in lead is entirely due to Mr. George Payne; and I give his own account of it as printed in the valuable county work mentioned above.

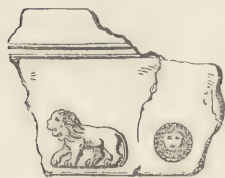
"On the 21st of November 1871 a fourth leaden coffin was uncovered at Bex Hill. It contained, amidst a quantity of lime, a skeleton, of which the head was placed towards the south. The lower part of the coffin, which was entire when it was first seen, fell to pieces during the work of excavation; the lid, however, was left tolerably perfect. Long iron nails and some other traces of an exterior coffin of wood were found among the *débris*. The ornamentation is represented in the annexed engraving. Five feet long, and of the uniform breadth of one foot and a half, the entire surface of the lid is divided into nine rectangular compartments by means of a raised moulding,



more delicate and elaborate than that upon the coffin previously discovered. The nine rectangular compartments are not of equal depth, but are alternately deep and shallow. Each of the latter is occupied by a pair of lions, which stand face to face, having between them a jug-like vase. Each central division contains a Medusa's head, while the two broader divisions are occupied by lines of the



moulding disposed in shape of the letter X. In the compartment which lies third from the head of the lid, there is, beneath the lions and the vase, an additional ornament in the shape of a sword-blade. Each of the vases contains two prominent objects which seem to be burning torches. Upon a fragment of one end of the coffin, we find the lion used not in combination with the vase but with the Medusa medallion."



Mr. Payne then describes a very elegant glass vessel, somewhat like a modern claret jug, in pale green glass, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height, with a long handle; and in front a medallion, in high relief, of a female head, similar to those engraved on page 121, and Plate XXXI of my *Illustrations of*

Roman London.

"Several small urns, mostly of Upchurch ware, were found about twenty feet west of this coffin in 1871; and with them was a finger-ring of bronze. Six feet from the urns lay two skeletons, and at the feet of one of them were three small earthen vessels. Traces of decayed wood around these skeletons suggest the probability that they were interred in simple wooden coffins."

"Two more leaden coffins have subsequently been discovered at Bex Hill, both of them devoid of ornament. Within that which was last found (in 1873) were two small finger rings of gold wire, and three thick long pins of dark wood or of Kimmeridge coal."

While this was being written Mr. Payne communicates notes of a further discovery made towards the close of last year in the parish of Borden, near Chalkwell, about a mile from Sittingbourne.

"This coffin lay at the depth of about seven feet, east and west, the head to the west. The lid is 4 ft. 3 in. in

length; in width, 1 ft. 3 in.; the coffin itself 3 ft. 9 in.; in width, 1 ft.; depth at the head, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in., at the foot $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. It contained remains of the skeleton of a child, probably of about five years; two gold *armillæ*; one a hollow tube, the other, two wires twisted; a jet *armilla*, polished and quite plain; a gold finger ring. Outside of the coffin, at the head, was a large red clay jar containing a small white transparent glass cup; at the foot a vase of fine hard brown pottery. Around were several large iron nails, apparently used for wooden bands bound round the coffin. The decoration of the coffin is an adaptation of the string or cable pattern to a diamond at head and foot, and crossways in the centre, with circles and a B-shaped ornament, one in each diamond and two in the centre."

On May 16th, 1878, Mr. Humphrey Wood having informed me that in digging a grave in the new cemetery on the Maidstone Road, about a mile from Chatham, a Roman coffin in lead had been uncovered, I immediately called on Mr. Wood, and we at once visited the site, which is in an open part of the country remote from houses, and bordering the high road. The coffin lay, north and south, full seven feet deep, and measured quite six feet in length and about two feet three inches in width. Its character is shown in Plate XIX A, Figs. 7, 8, 9. At the head are two pair of scallop shells. It had been filled with quicklime, and, from the large quantity of iron about it, to which adhered traces of wood, it had evidently been secured in a wooden coffin, or framework of wood, bound with iron bands. As in many other cases, this provision was indispensable from the great weight of the lead and lime. On the outside of the coffin were the bones of a bird and two small earthen vessels of well known types. Mr. H. Wood has recently communicated to me the discovery near the spot of a bronze fibula, resembling fig. 1, p. 81, in my *Antiquities of*

Richborough, etc., and a large brass coin of Trajan much worn from circulation. Isolated interments such as this, in wild untenanted districts, reveal in unmistakable language the changes that have taken place since the days of the Romans. What is now open country or cornfields we often find was then occupied by extensive villas and other buildings. From a costly interment such as this we may conclude that the nameless family to whom it belonged resided not far distant in a state of some opulence. What could have been the sentiment which prevented the survivors, who in this and numerous similar cases paid such regard to their dead, from adding their names? Or, was it the absence of sentiment? The fact is remarkable, but not easily to be explained. Were there inscriptions upon stone which have been lost or destroyed? This, in so many instances, is not likely. Were the tenants of these rich interments pure Romans or Britons Romanized? Reflections and speculations crowd upon us; but the true key to the mystery has not yet been found. Ulpus Felix, of Eburacum, and his wife, as we see, secured the memory of their child and of themselves by the simple application to the lead of a sharp-pointed stylus. A moment's thought might have suggested the same easy process to others.

Fortunately the coffin excavated in the new Chatham cemetery has fallen into good hands. At the time of its discovery Mr. Thomas Austin was Chairman of the Local Board of Health for Chatham. Not only did he take prompt measures to ensure its permanent preservation in the Board Room, together with the earthen vessels, but he caused an inscribed stone to be set up to mark the spot where it had been deposited.

Very different was the fate of a fine and well-preserved specimen found at Crayford, the fortunes of which belong to the romance or rather the burlesque of archæology. The

particulars are chiefly supplied by Mr. John Harris, of Belvedere, who walked altogether not less than forty miles to try to save the coffin. They shew the insurmountable obstacles opposed by the dull weight of official ignorance and apathy to scientific researches. It is one of the latest versions of a very old story which, in spite of useful knowledge societies and school boards, will never cease to be told.

The coffin was dug up, in the course of excavations made by the West Kent Drainage Company, under Messrs. Neave and Son, the contractors, about thirty yards from the Iron Church in the Bexley Lane on the right side of the road leading from Dartford, about seven feet below the surface of the road, and a short distance from the divergence of the road to Bexley Heath. It attracted some notice, and the bystanders speculated on its age, satisfying themselves that from the escallop-shell ornamentation it must have belonged to a pilgrim; and then the coffin was reburied and well rammed down. Such was the case when Mr. Harris made known the facts to me. I at once applied to Colonel Lennard, Chairman of the Company, who asserted he had no power to order its disinterment, and so said the contractor. Mr. Harris then made an appeal to the Dartford Highway Board; and the Board (after sitting upon the question for a month) decided that they had no power, and that nothing under an order from the Home Secretary of State would justify any one in recovering it. At this stage of official circumlocution the matter rested. I had also invoked the aid of three or four archæological societies; but the *vis inertiae* of Drainage Company and Highway Board prevailed over all.

By the kindness of the Rev. George Savage, who has given me a rough sketch and notes made by himself on the spot, I am able to convey a notion of the coffin in

Plate XIX A, fig. 6. It is in length about 5 ft. 6 in., in width at the head about 20 in., at the feet about 12 in., in depth about 12 in. It lay about north and south, and contained the decayed skeleton of a young female. The lid is ornamented with a string or cable line running down the centre from a triangular division, or three limbs of a cross, in each of which is an escallop shell; at the bottom the straight line diverges into a triangle in which are two escallop shells, and at the bottom are two more.

It may here be in place to mention that in or rather closely contiguous to the Saxon cemetery at Osengal (*Col. Ant.*, vol. iii) was a small unornamented leaden coffin, and contiguous to it another Roman grave. One, found at Petham, is engraved in vol. iv. Hasted mentions one dug up at Whatmere Hall in the parish of Sturry, enclosed in a stone coffin.* Mr. Payne also further informs me that "in 1869 the workmen in the employ of Mr. Smeed digging brick earth at Murston, in a field known as the 'Eleven Acres', exhumed a leaden coffin 9 ft. under the surface. It was 6 ft. 6 in. in length, and braced round at each end by thin iron bars. It had four crosses on each side, four on the lid, and one on each end, and contained the skeleton of a female, a tear bottle, and a small glass vase in which were the bones of a very small animal."

From Kent I proceed to Essex, and give further examples to those already described in vol. iii. Figs. 1 to 5 in Plate XIX are views and details of two found with a third, quite plain, at East Ham in 1864. The particulars are taken chiefly from a communication in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xv, N.S., p. 91, by Mr. H. W. King, collated with a Report by the Rev. E. F. Boyle in the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, vol. iii, p. 104.

* *History of Kent*, vol. iii, p. 615.

The site is about a quarter of a mile westward of the church of East Ham, at the foot of the upland just bordering upon the marshes, where an extensive excavation was then (in 1864) being made for ballast for sewers across the marshes to Barking. The workmen came first upon a massive stone sarcophagus, quite plain, 6 ft. 9 in. in length by 2 ft. 1 in. wide, covered by a heavy coped lid. It contained two skeletons placed side by side, their heads at the opposite ends. A surgeon pronounced them to be of adults in middle age. Three leaden coffins were next found, lying like the sarcophagus north and south. Two were ornamented (as shown in the Plate, figs. 1 to 5); the third plain. Their measurements are 4 ft. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the top and 9 in. at the bottom, and the smaller 2 ft. 4 in. in length. There were three shells at the head of Fig. 1; the third, below the two shewn in the plate.

Near the coffins and in a line with them were found two skeletons which had been enclosed in coffins of wood; and about twenty urns, most of them containing burnt bones. As Mr. King conjectures, the excavations had touched the southern verge of an extensive cemetery.

The lowermost coffin in this plate is from Colchester, where it was recently bought by Mr. Robert Blair of South Shields. It is 3 ft. 1 in. in length, in width 10 in., and in depth 10 in. The band of overlapping circles is an unusual ornamentation. Mr. Blair could obtain no reliable account of its discovery.

Fig. 6, about one-ninth the actual size, is from a sketch lent me by Professor Church of a fragment in the Museum of Cirencester.

To Mr. F. J. Baigent I am indebted for the following notices of coffins found in Hampshire. The first was brought to light in 1864 in digging gravel for railway purposes about a mile on the Winchester side of the Bishop

Stoke Junction, at about 5 ft. below the surface. It was 5 ft. 6 in. in length inside, in breadth about 16 in., and in depth $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. It was made out of one piece of lead by the corners being cut out; the sides and ends turned up and lapped over about an inch. It was devoid of ornament. It contained the skeleton of a young woman, accompanied by three or four thin glass bottles commonly called lachrymatories.

The first of the others was found in 1878 in St. John's Street, Winchester, about 4 ft. below the surface, lying obliquely across the roadway. It was of large size, measuring 6 ft. 9 in. in length. Within it was a second coffin 6 ft. in length. The sides are respectively 2 ft. 5 in. and 2 ft. nearly, bent up and lapped over at the ends and below; the covers also lapped over the side 3 in. or more. This weighty double coffin, estimated at over a ton, had been protected by iron bars. It contained the skeleton of a woman.

In the same year, in the same street, another lead coffin was dug up. It resembles the former, is 6 ft. in length, and contained the skeleton of a man advanced in age. By the side of the head of the skeleton was a coin of Constantine. It had been enclosed in wood, of which there were traces; and the wood must have been thick, as several nails, 8 in. in length, with wood adhering to them, were found among the remains.*

By the kindness of Sir Henry Dryden I am able to give a representation and notice of a leaden coffin discovered at Irchester, which supplied the sepulchral monument to the Roman *Strator*, described in vol. iii, p. 251-3, and engraved in Plate xiv, vol. iv. The locality is particularly

* Mr. Baigent has printed a minute account of these discoveries in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, but the above extracts include all the material facts.

interesting in being the site of a walled *castrum*, the name of which is unknown, but which, from time to time, has yielded interesting remains, including British and Roman coins, many of which were collected by the late Mr. Gill of Wellingborough; and some, of the rarest types, are now in the possession of his relative, Mr. H. S. Gill of Tiverton. But the place attracted no special attention from any influential antiquary, until excavations for ironstone in 1873-4 led to researches by the Rev. R. S. Baker and Sir Henry Dryden, from an account of which, by the former gentleman,* I extract a few facts. Unfortunately, the excavations which brought to light the remains treated on were not such as afforded good opportunities for scientific inquiries; and there appear to have been no sustained attempts to excavate the *castrum* itself and the surrounding walls. So far as the evidence of coins go, the *castrum* seems to have been of early date, and to have been occupied up to a very late period; but, as yet, there is no clue to its history, military or civil.

Mr. Baker states, from information given him, that the portion of the cemetery in which the leaden coffin was found contained from 300 to 400 skeletons, a large number, considering that probably only a section was made through it. They lay in graves some 3 ft. deep, usually roughly lined and covered with limestone slabs in parallel lines, east and west. Besides these there were three massive stone coffins, laid deeper; they are roughly hewn out of solid blocks of freestone, the lids ponderous slabs of ragstone. They were further secured by strong iron cramps, two on each side, sunk into the lid and coffin side, and leaded into the stone at both ends. They contained nothing but skeletons.

* Read before the Associated Societies of Northants and Leicestershire, August 10th, 1875; and with additions and revisions, before the Soc. Ant. Lond., 1876.

The leaden coffin (Pl. XIX A, Fig. 1) contained the skeleton of a young girl. It is 3 ft. 2 in. in length, formed of thick cast sheets, folded in at the angles and not soldered. The lid is part of a larger piece of lead and reused. The ornamentation will be best understood by reference to the plate, in which Figs. 2 and 3 shew additional ornaments, one circular, the other a quatrefoil rosette on the lower part of the lid, which had been made for a larger coffin.

One of the cemeteries of Roman London, as is well known, extended for a long distance on the sides of the chief road into Essex, by what is now Bethnal Green, where numerous sepulchral remains have been discovered. Here, at Camden Gardens, was exhumed in 1862 a coffin, the pattern on which is given in Pl. XIX A, Fig. 4, copied from an etching by Mr. H. W. Rolfe, to whom the preservation of the coffin is due, and who thus describes it:* "The sides are plain, but the ends are ornamented with two lines, one on each side; and two other lines crossing in the middle of a unique pattern, somewhat resembling the backbone of a fish, or a close-jointed bamboo. The dimensions of the coffin are 5 ft. 10 in. in length, width at the head 1 ft. 4 in., at the foot 1 ft. 2 in., depth 10 in. The lid overlaps $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the ends and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the sides. The weight of the metal was about 4 cwt. In sifting the contents two jet pins were found, and some teeth of a young person. The site of the discovery was close to the great highway leading from London by Bethnal Green, through Green Street and Old Ford, into Essex."

France.—These interesting and suggestive works of ancient art have received quite as little attention in France as in England. The late M. de Gerville, and M. de Cau-

* *Proceedings* of Evening Meetings of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society for 1862.

mont recognised their value; but, as I have already remarked, until the Abbé Cochet was inspirited to advocate their claims they remained almost disregarded, and usually misunderstood. Here is an instance in a *Description of the City of Reims*:—"On the 1st of July 1816, in excavating below a house in the street St. Sixte, near the Roman road, there were found three tombs, two of which were in stone and one in lead. The latter lay at the depth of 10 ft.; the others at 5 ft. The two tombs in stone may be of the time of the Romans, but that in lead is not of the same epoch, for *the Romans did not use this kind of tombs*. It is very probable that this part of the ground had been moved, else how could the tomb in lead, more modern, and in which was a skeleton well preserved, have been below those in stone, the skeletons in which were more decayed? These tombs were uninscribed; that in lead had upon the sides and ends crosses and festoons in relief."* Large numbers have been lost to science from sheer ignorance, and when in some instances they are understood, they are usually passed over without illustrations, and with imperfect description.

One of the most remarkable which have fallen into good hands is that discovered at Lieusaint, near Valognes, and engraved by M. de Caumont in the *Bulletin Monumental*,† from which this engraving is copied.

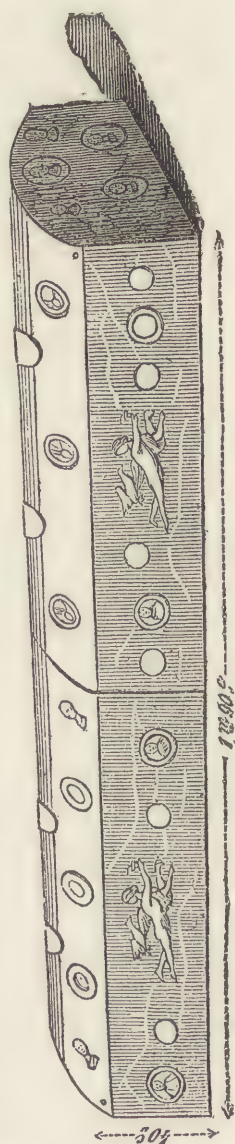
It was found in a field by the side of the road which faces the church on the north. The Abbé Vignon immediately purchased it and invited M. de Caumont to an inspection. This fortunate presence of an intelligent and liberal man preserved the coffin from the melting-pot, and M. de Caumont at once secured the eminent artist M. Bouet to make drawings.

* *Description Historique et Statistique de la Ville de Reims*. Par T. B. F. Geruzez, vol. ii, p. 704. Reims, 1817.

† Vol. xxvi, p. 131 *et seq.*, 1860.

The coffin had been deposited in the open ground without apparently any enclosure, either of stone or of wood; and it contained nothing beyond a brown powder, from the decomposition of the body. It is 1 m. 90 c. in length, by 1 m. 40 c. in width. The lid is arched, diminishing in curvature towards the lower end. Its height is 35 c. at the higher extremity.

The ornamentation is composed of two busts, disposed symmetrically upon the lid, sides, and ends; and of two combinations of a male figure and a bird upon the sides. The busts are of very unequal artistic design: one is that of a female with distended cheeks; the other, fairly executed, a female bust within a lunette, probably intended for *Luna Lucifera*. The larger figures on the sides are more interesting. M. de Caumont, without however attaching much importance to the notion, asks if the eagle may be supposed to be an emblem of immortality, carrying the spirit of the deceased to heaven? As such the eagle will occur to all who are familiar with the consecration coins of the Roman emperors; but I suggest a simpler and, I



Liensaint, Valognes, Normandy.

think, a very obvious interpretation, in the Rape of Ganymede, the grouping being arranged for a limited space. Although disproportionate, these figures are well drawn and neatly executed. The Abbé Cochet terms them "deux génies ailés tenant des phylactères," but they are certainly not winged; and the object held is not, M. de Caumont says, clearly defined. Moreover, the youthful male figure is booted, as Ganymede is usually represented.

M. de Caumont has also recorded others; among them one found at Arles, in 1844, in a stone sarcophagus bearing a metrical inscription.* Another, also enclosed in an inscribed stone sarcophagus, was found so far back as 1618. This has been engraved by Millin;† he does not describe the leaden coffin, but merely says that the body of the young tenant had been wrapped in a vestment of silk and gold, which was not to be found when he visited Arles. Both those interments denote great affluence; and although, perhaps, the leaden coffins may not have been remarkable, yet the inscriptions on the sarcophagi deserve better attention than they have yet received. Millin's engravings are uniformly inartistic and unfaithful, while his work is highly interesting and instructive.

At Angers, as at York, excavations for a railway station brought to light a number of Roman leaden coffins, of which we get some account through M. de Caumont.

One is described as decorated on the lid near the head with a sort of temple with two columns and a triangular façade, and below an ornament \times formed. This is probably the pearled cross we find so many examples of. In the right hand of a skeleton, within it, was a second brass coin too corroded to be identified.

* *Bulletin Monumental*, tome xi.

† *Voyage dans le Midi de France*; Atlas, Pl. LXIX, No. 3, tome iii, p. 580.

The lid of another had a cross of six branches. In the right hand of the skeleton in this was a coin of Constantine.

In one instance the coffin is said to be impressed with reliefs formed from Roman coins, three of large brass, and two of small. M. de Caumont expresses doubts of these heads being made from coins, and probably he is right; but it is a question easily settled.

I have, in vol. iii, referred to others in France. At present it must suffice to add that more examples have since been found at Amiens, Beauvais, and Rouen, some of which are elegantly ornamented, but not so richly as that of Lieusaint. No doubt an examination, were it in all cases possible, of the museums in France, would reveal further examples; but hitherto these remarkable works have been placed in bad situations, or altogether concealed as not being attractive to the general eye.

The evidence hitherto collected leads to a few conclusions. It shews that throughout Britain it was a general practice to bury the entire body in leaden coffins; and also, at the same time, to deposit the bones of the corpses which had been burnt in leaden canisters or ossuaria. The former custom prevailed far more extensively; how far to the north and west of Britain cannot yet be determined. Dr. Bruce informs me that he has not met with instances in Durham and Northumberland; but Mr. R. S. Ferguson states that two at least have occurred near Carlisle. It is probable that the abundance of lead suggested its application to funereal purposes at a very early period. The designs on some of the coffins indicate a good state of art, and may be referred to a period not later, and possibly earlier, than that of the Antonines. Coins, in some cases, prove that these coffins were in use at the latest period of the Roman rule. They are invaluable as deciding in one

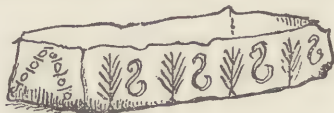
direction, but not so positively in the other. Thus a coin of Gratian is conclusive in shewing that the interment in which it was found cannot possibly be ascribed to any period antecedent to the reign of that emperor; but it might have been deposited later. The same with other coins; for example, those of Hadrian and the Antonines. They may not necessarily have been placed in the coffins in the reigns of those emperors. They could not have been laid there earlier; but they might have been added in any subsequent reign; the state of preservation will occasionally assist conjecture.

The ornaments used sometimes savour of symbolism; and often seem merely to have arisen from the fancy of the designer. It would be difficult to find symbolism in the Rape of Ganymede; yet the lions, the torches, and the Medusa's head are all well known Pagan emblems. The last, often occurring on Roman sarcophagi and other works of art, are said to be so placed to keep away evil spirits. The griffins on the Nismes example, cited in vol. iii, have ascribed to them a similar mission; but the Cupids with vines and grapes are a common design of general application. The escallop shell, which appears upon so many as an elegant ornament, has been by some supposed to have a symbolical meaning. The goddess Venus is often depicted as rising from the sea in a shell, and in one instance she is represented between the valves of an escallop shell;* but, however this may be explained, it is difficult to see connection with any sentiment in the use of the escallop shell upon coffins, beyond the selection of an ornament both elegant and easy to work.

I have referred to the coffin once in the Crystal Palace. This, I think, may be accepted as shewing a Christian in-

* *Recueil de Fragmens de Sculpture Antique en Terre Cuite*, Pl. xiii, fig. 2. Paris, 1814.

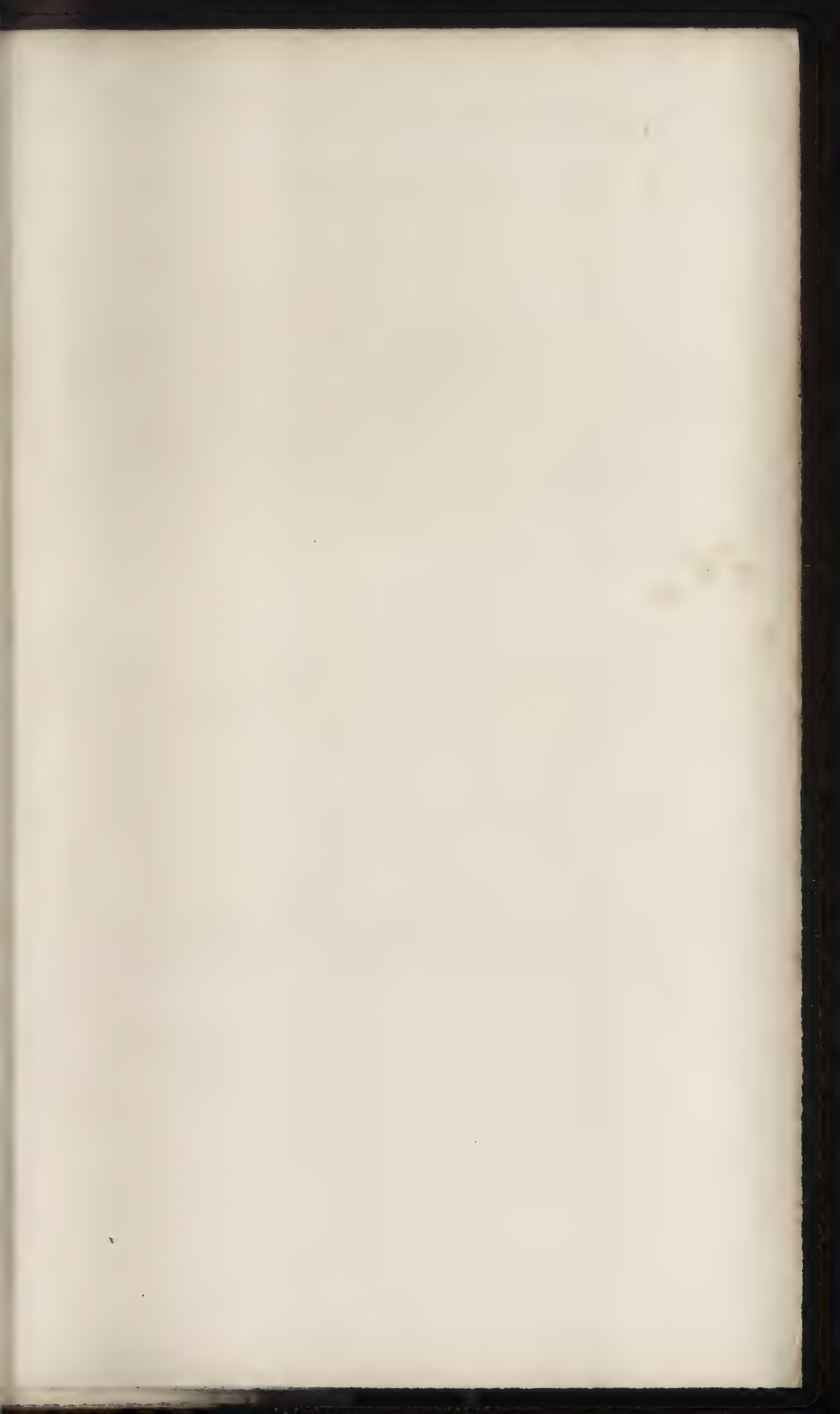
fluence in the palm branch, a very common emblem, particularly in the catacombs in Rome, but the greatest rarity

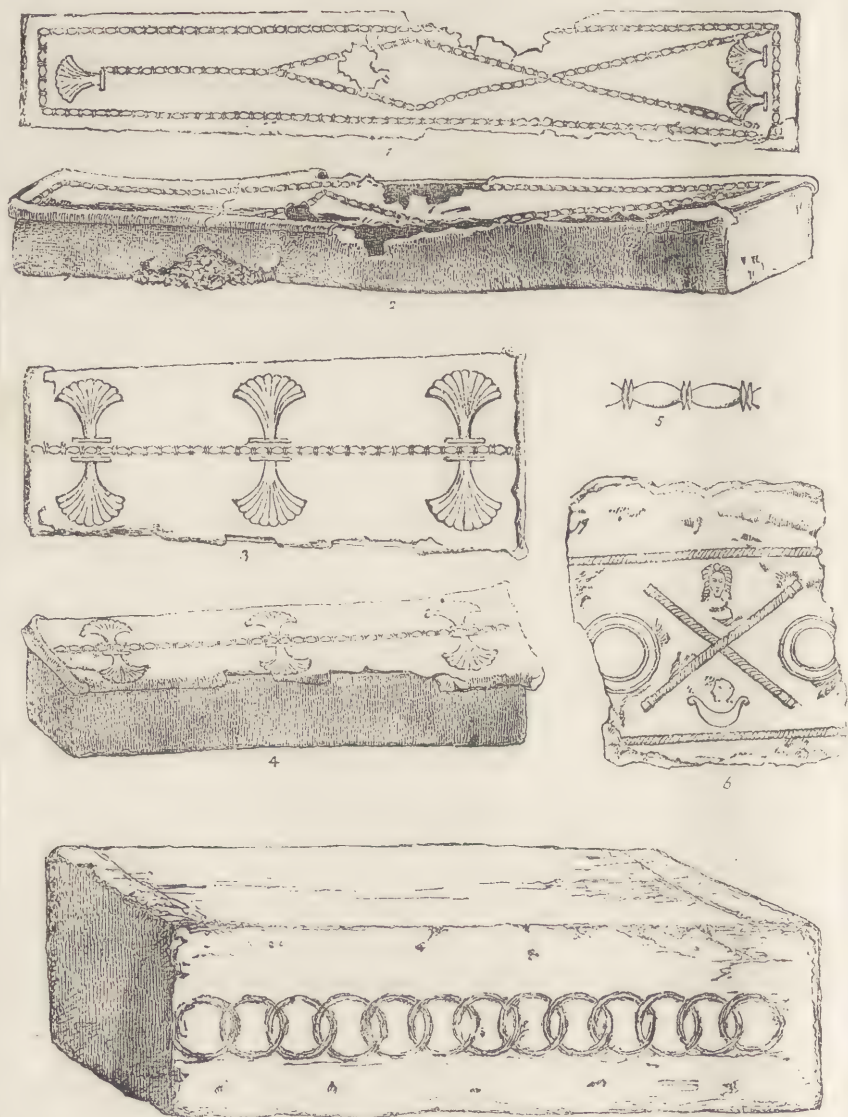


in the north of Europe. It occurs on the Barming tomb described by the late Mr. Poste in vol. i; but I can point to no other example in this country. I understood from Mr. Fairholt that this coffin was about 3 ft. in length.

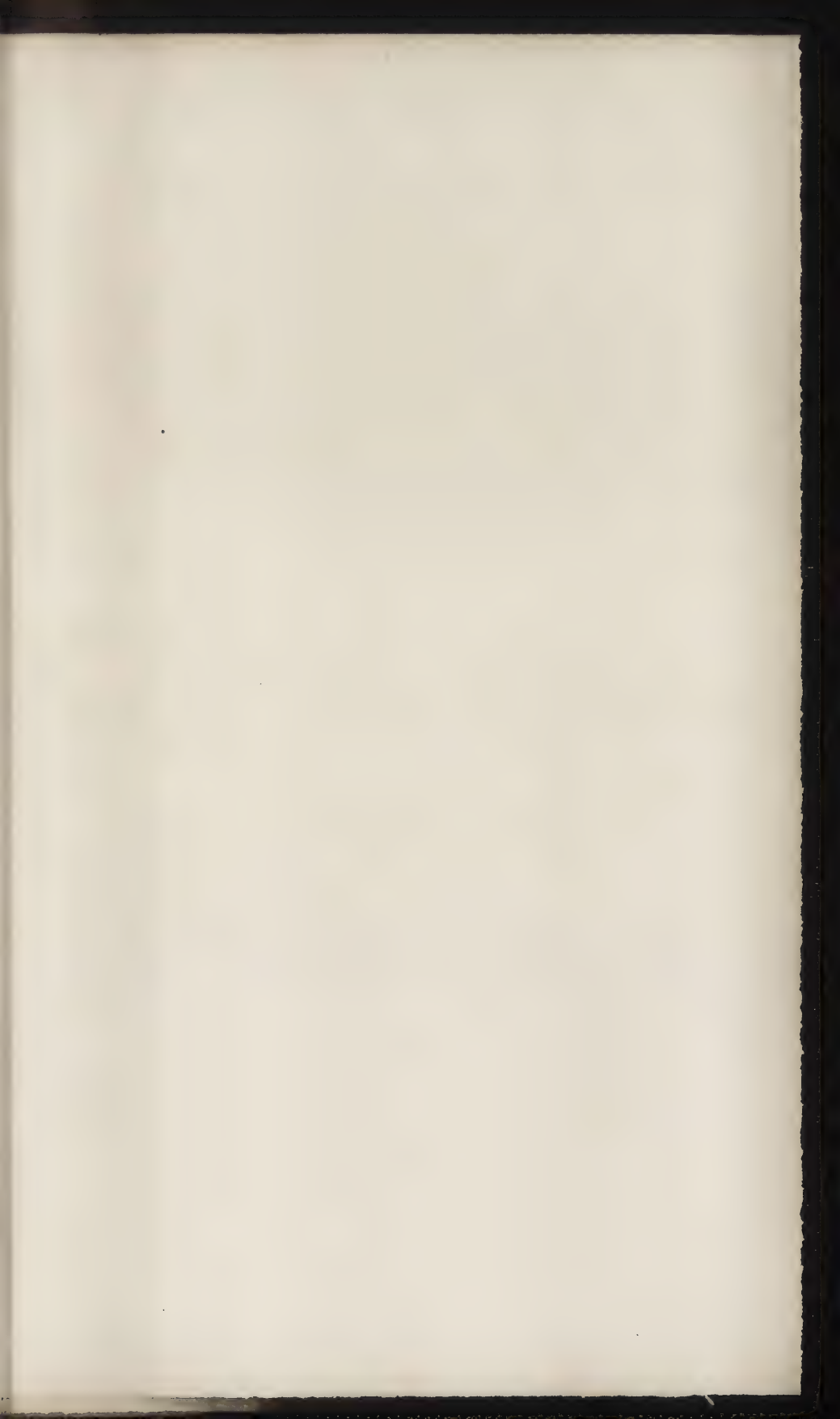
I have remarked on the reflections arising from considering the secluded and out-of-the-way places in which these coffins are often found. To comprehend the reason, it is necessary to try to understand and realise the vast changes which have taken place. The burial-places were once near residences, not a trace of which now remains above ground. They were secured to the owner by law, being held to be sacred. It was sufficient for the true freeholder, in order to make a piece of his land inviolable, to bury a corpse in it. This act hallowed the spot, and made it a *locus religiosus*.* There must have been some external indications of Roman burial-places to have enabled the Saxons to resort to them as sacred and respected, for frequently the Roman and Saxon cemeteries are found contiguous to each other. In some instances, perhaps in many, it would appear from adjacent ancient cemeteries, that the localities were selected for the sites of churches. Hostile nations and creeds are alike ended or modified by the great leveller and pacificator, Death.

* "*Religiosum locum unusquisque sua voluntate facit, dum mortuum infert in locum suum.*"—*D. Justiniani Inst.*, lib. II, tit. i.





ROMAN LEADEN COFFINS.





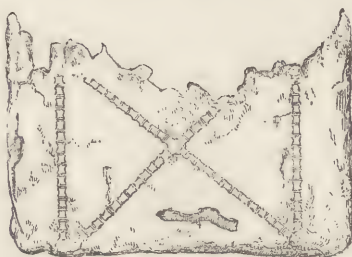
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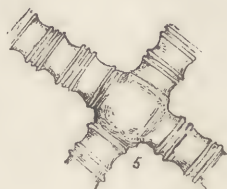
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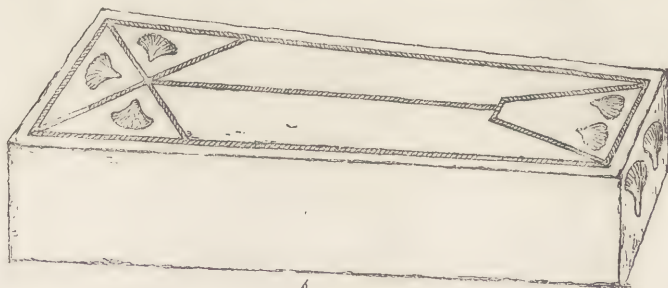
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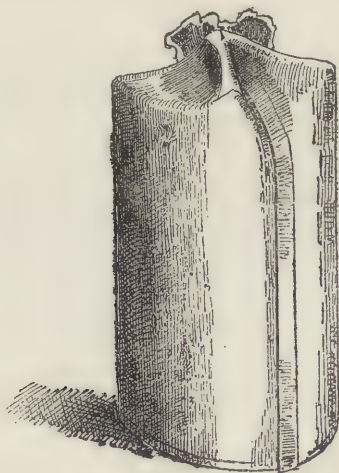


9

ROMAN LEADEN COFFINS.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF ROMAN LEADEN COFFINS
AND OSSUARIA.

- Plate XIX* - Figs. 1 to 5 - Found at East Ham.
 " " - " 6 - " Cirencester.
 " " - " 7 - " Colchester.
 " XIXA - " 1 to 3 - " Irchester.
 The ornamentation is similar to that on the coffin found at Canterbury, and described by Mr. Pilbrow in *Archæologia*, vol. xliii, p. 160.
Plate XIXA - Figs. 4 and 5 - Found at Bethnal Green.
 " " - " 6 - " Crayford.
 " " - " 7 to 9 - " Chatham.
Ossuaria, p. 172-5 - " York.
 The glass bottles on pp. 175-6 are about 4 inches in height.
Coffins, pp. 178-9 - - Found at York.
 " p. 180 - - " London.
 " pp. 183-6 - - " Bex Hill, Kent.
 " p. 196 - - " Lieusaint, France.
Vignette. An Ossuarium in the Chester Museum, found in a Roman cemetery at Handbridge, Chester.



Ossuarium found at Chester. Height, 16 inches; diameter, 8 inches.

ROMAN ORNAMENTS DISCOVERED AT CANTERBURY.

PLATES XX AND XXI.

THE enamelled ornaments here shewn very faithfully have been collected chiefly from the sites of Roman cemeteries close to Canterbury by Mr. John Brent, who has recently published them in the second edition of his *Canterbury in the Olden Time*,* and he very liberally allows me the use of these plates.

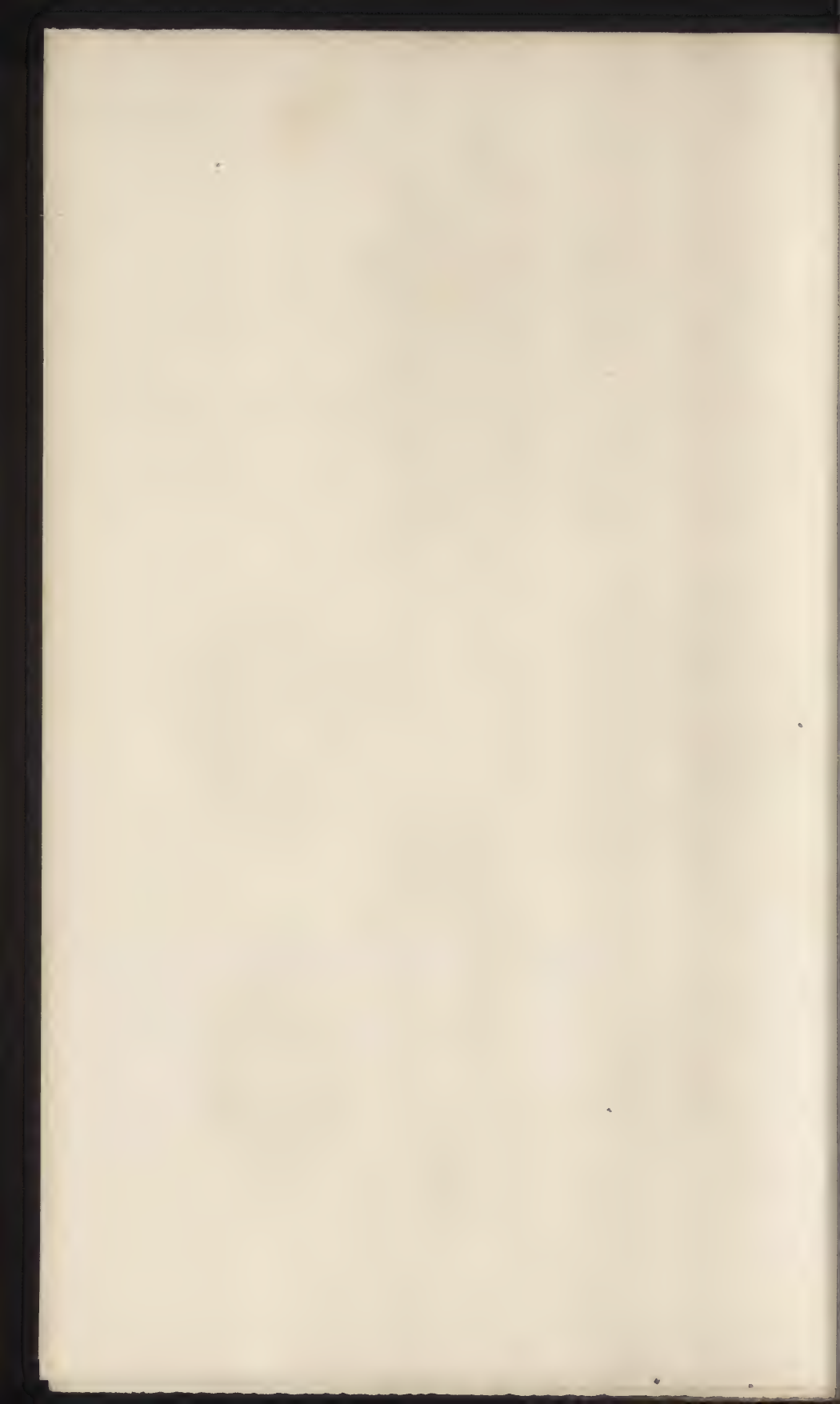
Fig. 1, Pl. xx; and Fig. 4, Pl. xxi, are of the highest interest and rarity. They shew connection between the earlier Roman fibula, circular and enamelled, and the Saxon chatelaine pendant; and may be called transitional; but these are brooches worn at the shoulder or breast, the Saxon chatelaine being a pendant and used similarly to the modern ornament of the same name. The late Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, possessed one precisely similar, set with vitreous pastes, blue, yellow, and green; but the pendants had become detached and lost. I understood it was found in the neighbourhood of Ixworth.

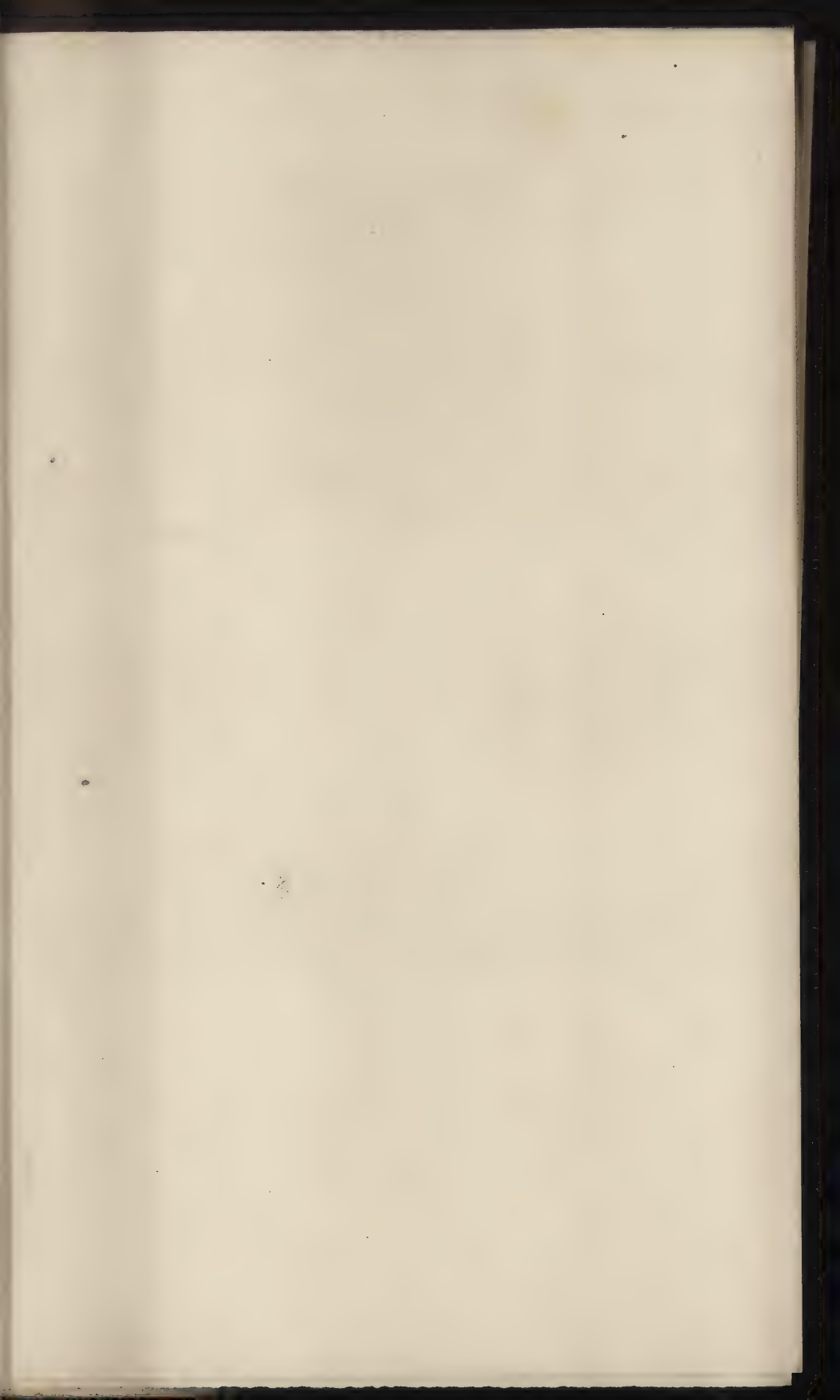
Fig. 2, Pl. xx, may be compared with the example, Pl. xxxv, vol. iii, *Collectanea Antiqua*, which was found with Frankish remains in the valley of the Eaulne, and is now in the Rouen Museum. Another variety is engraved in Mr. J. E. Lee's valuable *Isca Silurum*, Pl. xxviii, fig. 14.

* Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., London; Hal Drury, Canterbury. 1879.



DISCOVERED AT CANTERBURY







DISCOVERED AT CANTERBURY

The mosaic work of these studs is well designed and executed, bearing favourable comparison with similar works executed at Rome at the present day.

Fig. 3, Pl. xx, was found in or near the Martyr's Field. The dark oval stone in the centre, Mr. Brent thinks, may be a rough amethyst. He refers to one similar found in 1788 at Wickham Brook, Suffolk, with Roman coins.

Figs. 4 and 6, Pl. xx, are varieties of fibulæ; fig. 4 has a ring at the top to secure it more effectually; fig. 6 is apparently of much later date, and may be called transitional; fig. 5 is in gold; all the others bronze.

Fig. 1, Pl. xxi, is late Roman and rather uncommon. It was found some yards in front of the gateway of St. Augustine's in making sewers, at the depth of about 8 ft., but not in connection with an interment. Fig. 2, fibula, set with purple enamel and a red centre, was found near St. Martin's Church. Fig. 3 has been attached to a girdle or strap. They are all in bronze.

To say that Mr. Brent's volume is the best guide to Canterbury is but scant praise. It may be read with pleasure and studied with profit. It contains thirty-one plates, of which these two are a good sample, and many woodcuts. It is likely that a third edition may soon be required; therefore, the sooner subscribers' names are forwarded the more cheering will be the impulse given to the author, and the quicker will be the valuable return to his supporters. The third edition will be considerably increased in text and in illustrations.

ROMAN CANTERBURY.

Mr. Brent's chapter on Roman Canterbury suggests a few remarks which I hope may tend to encourage him, in spite of obstacles, to prosecute his researches with an

especial view of determining the question whether the walls of the city as they now stand are based upon the foundations and enclose the core of Roman walls. I never doubted their being upon the line of the Roman circumvallation; and I submit that the objections raised do not at all decide to the contrary.

It would be an inexplicable novelty for a city of such importance, as the capital of the Cantii must have been, to have wanted walls. All the towns, both in Britain and in Gaul, which were the capitals of tribes or peoples, were substantially walled; and this, I believe in every instance, can be proved by remains more or less visible at the present day. These cities in Gaul have mostly retained their names as capitals of the peoples, while the superimposed Roman name has been lost. Thus Paris is so called from its having been the *Civitas Parisiorum*, while the Roman name *Lutetiæ* is lost; Evreux, the capital of the Eburovices, is so called from the people; the Roman name *Mediolanum* did not survive; and so in numerous cases; but in England Canterbury is the only capital city which derives its name in like manner. The Roman *Durovernum* is absorbed in the influence of the *Cantii*, of whom it was the *civitas* or *burg*. Different from Gaul, the other British capitals have retained the names given by the Romans; and they were all walled.

Canterbury had pre-eminence also from its situation at the junction of three roads leading from three ports, each of which at Canterbury would be a day's march or journey; a resting place for soldiers or travellers. It must have been well provided with barracks and inns. That it was never a permanent military station must be conceded, from the entire absence of all those evidences which are inseparable from such towns. The early and entire pacification of Cantium rendered such posts needless; those on

the Saxon Shore being garrisoned at a late period of the Roman rule.

It was not at all necessary that a town to be walled should be a fixed military station. Colchester, London, Chichester, Winchester, and others were not permanently occupied by legions or auxiliaries; yet they were fortified as strongly as Caerleon, Chester, and York, which were the quarters of the three legions assigned to Britain during the Roman domination.

It is doubtful, it may almost be said impossible, that the walls of any of these towns are utterly destroyed even above ground; they cannot well be eradicated. But, occasionally, it may be difficult to point even to a fragment of what may be Roman masonry, and this is now the case at Canterbury. Stukeley has given drawings of what, I think, could have been nothing but Roman work; but what he saw and sketched has fallen before municipal wants for the present and apathy for the past. Municipal authority, when not controlled by patriotic wisdom, is a mighty lever for the overturning of Roman walls. The magnificent and perfect remains at Dax, preserved by imperial despotism, have been razed by republican liberty for the miserable object of making votes for the Town Council. Napoleon saved; Thiers destroyed.

Chichester may be selected for comparison with Canterbury. It was the capital of the Regni, and must have been about equal in extent to Canterbury, and like it enclosed large open spaces never built upon. Yet, until very recently, not a vestige of Roman masonry could be pointed to. The walls, to a long extent, carry a promenade like those of Canterbury, but the facings on both sides are mediæval and modern. The western gateway was standing in the last century, and I gave an engraving of it from

a drawing in the British Museum.* Still, visible remains of the Roman walls evaded my eye until very recently, when my friend Mr. John Harris introduced me to a very fine bastion and the curtain wall in his brother's garden in St. John's Street, so surrounded by houses as to be entirely concealed; and, I believe, it was hitherto perfectly unknown. Of course excavations would have laid open at least the foundations of the original masonry at almost any point, but I had no opportunity of making them.

One of the triumphs of archæology is the discovery that the walls of many Roman towns are not the original walls, which were more circumscribed. They are often found to be built with the materials of large and superior edifices, and sepulchral monuments, indicating two distinct periods of time: one, in which greater splendour prevailed; the other, the downfall of the towns, and a reconstruction on an extended scale. This has been shewn in London and in many Roman towns in France, Germany, and Italy. At Canterbury it appears to have been likewise proved in the excavations made by Mr. Pilbrow† a few years since. This explains why sepulchral interments are found occasionally within the later walls. They were on the outside of the earlier, but became enclosed when the circumvallation was extended. I saw in an almost central part of the City of London a skeleton in its grave with a coin of Domitian in its mouth, an important witness in the matter under consideration. Mr. Brent mentions Roman inter-

* *Report on Excavations made at Pevensey*, p. 30.

† *Archæologia*, vol. xliii, p. 151. The coffin found in Bridge Street, just without the Walls, is Roman. Mr. Pilbrow kindly gave me a drawing; but, by accident, I have only just been able, from comparison, to speak positively on it. The ornaments are so identical with those on the Irchester example as to leave no doubt of its being Roman.

ments within the walls of Canterbury. If we could summon coins from these burials they would probably, like this in London, be of an early date.

The state in which the Roman walls of most of our towns is found at the present day is, I think, to be easily understood. That they were not overturned by the Saxons is obvious. They had no reason for wishing them to be pulled down, and the charters of the Saxon kings continually refer to their preservation in the reservation, made in grants of land to the church, of the legal dues for their reparation and for the building of other defences. When the Danes, early in the eleventh century, besieged Canterbury, the city walls held out against them full twenty days; and, but for treachery, might have entirely repelled them.* It is probable that portions were then undermined and large masses thus overturned, as we find them at Pevensey and other places; but the denudation of the walls for the worked facing-stones does not savour of hostile assaults, but of the slow and more certain license of times of peace. When building of the walls of Roman towns in the middle ages is recorded we must consider that reparation is meant; and this, probably from municipal neglect, seems to have been often needed.

The question of the date and original character of the walls of Canterbury would soon be answered, in the only possible way, by laying open the foundations and thus seeing what remains of the facing stones and the nature of the core. This necessary research I proposed to the Congress of the Archæological Institute a few years since, but it met with no success; at the Congress of the Association it was not thought of. But such sessions are not the time for works requiring time and individual attention and experience. Mr. Brent himself would be the man of all

* Florence of Worcester, A.D. 1011; and the *Saxon Chronicle*.

men. But hear what he says in reference to attempted excavations at the site of the Worth Gate, which to me, from Stukeley's drawing copied in *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, appears to have all the requisites of Roman work. "I applied, also," says Mr. Brent, "to be permitted to excavate, at my own expense, restoring all things to the condition they were in previous to my undertaking the work, the supposed site in Castle Street, of the ancient Worthgate, extending about one-third across the road, as it might decide an important matter in dispute; but I was refused permission by the city authorities, as they saw 'no public utility in it.' On the same ground Westgate was condemned to be demolished."

To Mr. Brent is due the discovery of a very perfect part of a Roman wall, constructed with tiles, which has belonged to some building; but whether private or public it is impossible to say without making excavations. It seems to have been noticed by no one but himself. It adjoins or abuts upon the old ruined church of St. Pancras. As it is private property which would be improved by excavations, the obstructive plea of "no public utility" will, it may be hoped, be set aside by that of some private benefit.

The Dungeon, or Dane John Mound, respecting which there have been so many speculations, may be compared to those extraordinary Romano-British tumuli in Essex called the Bartlow Hills; like them, it is probably sepulchral. I believe, of course, that, supposing my theory of two lines of circumvallation being correct, it was on the outside of the earlier line. Leland's antiquarian knowledge did not serve him to give a description of the leaden coffin dug up upon or close to it; but it was probably Roman.

THE DEÆ MATRES, MATRONÆ, AND JUNONES.

ENGRAFTED upon the mythology of the ancients, as revealed in voluminous and circumstantial history and monuments, was a multiplicity of deities unmentioned by poets or historians, and known to us solely in sculpture and inscriptions. Where, in cities and towns flourished a state theology, in the secluded and remote parts of the country, the people modified the creeds and adapted them with great freedom to their own uneducated comprehension. The gods of Olympus were beyond the scope of their intellect or faith; they were too elevated and remote; and, therefore, consolation and support were sought for in divinities near at hand and more accessible. Prominent among these deities in the northern provinces of Rome were the *Deæ Matres*, of whom of late years we have learned much and are learning more.

On the Rhine their altars are side by side with another triad of goddesses called *Matronæ*; but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, no instance of the latter has yet been discovered in England, although numbers of the former have been found throughout the land. In Germany and in Italy the altars of the *Matronæ* are not so abundant as those of the *Matres* in this country. In one instance, at least, the personification of the two triads is identical, and this bespoke an alliance in attributes as well as in name; but, as fresh testimony arises, we are led to inquire what are the differences between the two, and

what are their distinctive characteristics? As I have shown, they occur often side by side in Germany, and are personified alike.*

My friend and colleague Mr. W. M. Wylie has printed in the *Archæologia* a paper, addressed to me, on a monument at Pallanza dedicated to the *Matronæ*, in which he has advanced the question a step at least towards a solution;† and, by the aid of the Rev. Padre Garrucci and Dr. Keller, has laid a foundation for further inquirers.

The monument at Pallanza was discovered at Pallanza so far back as 1601, beneath a heap of ruins; and that is all that is known about it. It is a plain quadrangular *cippus* of white marble, sculptured in bas-reliefs on all four sides. The front and more important sculpture represents a sacrifice. Above this is a dedicatory inscription to the *Matronæ* as follows:

MATRONIS SACRVM
PRO SALVTE C. CAESARIS
AVGVSTI GERMANICI
NARCISSVS C. CAESARIS.

The inscription is a dedication to the *Matronæ* by one Narcissus for the health of Caius Cæsar (Caligula).

One portion of the sculpture portrays a sacrifice. In the centre stands the priest at the altar; on one side is the *tibicen*, playing on the tibia; on the other, an attendant with the victim about to be sacrificed; besides these are a male and female attendant. The remaining three

* *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 43.

† Read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1876; published in 1880. Padre Garrucci and Dr. Keller, Foreign Members of the Society, are almost the only two, who, from a long list, justify the title of *correspondents*. The majority afford neither pecuniary nor literary assistance.

sides of the stone contain the most interesting group, which has deservedly engaged Mr. Wylie's especial attention. It is composed of five female figures with arms interlaced and hand in hand. These figures, Mr. Wylie suggests, are intended to represent the *Matronæ* themselves.

My friend now turns to the Avigliano monument communicated to the Society, through him, by the Padre Garrucci, some years since. This is inscribed :

MATRONIS

TI. IVLIVS. PRISCI. L

AGESTES.

Beneath, five female figures are represented, standing in a row, hand in hand, as upon the Pallanza marble. "It would be unsafe to generalise", Mr. Wylie remarks, "from two examples only; or we might be inclined to suspect some mysterious symbolism, such as the ancients attributed to the Graces, in this interlacing movement; and that the sculptors of Gallia Cisalpina were wont to convey the idea in this conventional fashion." He then very aptly and instructively refers to Horace's lines :

"Ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus ;"*

and

"Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris,
Nec certare joco, nec dare brachia
Ludentem nitidis virginibus ;"†

and remarks : "This sculptured marble sets before us some such dance as the Roman poet refers to. If it shall be

* *De Arte Poet.*, 232.

† *Carm.*, II, xii, 17 : "Dare brachia." A note in the Orelli edition, Turici, 1850, gives "Hæc maxime demonstrant matronam Romanam hic significari, quibus solis ducere licebat sacros Dianæ choras, una cum virginibus ingenuis."

thought generally, as I myself think, that this interlacing movement of the dance be the very 'dare brachia' of Horace, our Pallanza monument will at least have the merit of rendering a solution of what has always been a difficulty with his commentators."

I do not at present see with my friend that the *Matronæ* and the dancing figures have nothing in relation to the festival of the *Matronalia*; and I fail also to see in this group of five females the *Matronæ* themselves. I suggest that they form upon the Pallanza sculpture a continuation of the picture of the sacrificial ceremonies in honour of the *Matronæ*, whom I continue to believe were a triad, as they appear upon altars of the Cologne Museum, as, for example one, given here, which represents



the *Matronæ* of one of the local districts; and I reclaim for the *Deæ Matres* the sculpture of three seated female figures found in Crutched Friars.*

I have given several examples of inscriptions in this

* *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 33.

country to the *Deæ Matres*,* and more have since been added; but I cannot call to mind a single instance of a dedication to the *Matronæ*. This is very important testimony; and especially if it should accord with a like absence of records in the North of France. It is probable that, upon further research, it may be found that the cult of the *Matronæ* was chiefly confined to Germany and Italy; and that, although it may have often been almost identical with that of the *Matres*, yet, as Mr. Wylie's researches show, there were some essential points of difference. Confirmatory of these views are the distinct inscriptions to the *Romanehæ Matres* and the *Romanehæ Matrones*; to the *Gabiabæ Matres* and the *Gabiabæ Matrones*, the district of the latter also worshipping the *Gabiabæ Junones*.* Mr. Wylie cites one at Lyons in which the Aufanian *Matronæ* appear in the same dedication with the Pannonian and Dalmatian *Matres*, showing, as he observes, "that the military tribune, who thus discharged his vows, was under the full impression that the two classes of divinities were distinct and independent".

It is to be remarked that most of the dedications to the *Deæ Matres* in this country are by soldiers of auxiliary bodies from Germany, and that they are often named as the *Matres* of their native countries. At the same time, inscriptions specify the Gallic, British, German, and Italian *Matres*; and, in the widest sense, the *Matres* of all nations. I doubt if it will be found that the *Matronæ* had so extended an influence. My notes do not show one instance in France, with the exception of that at Lyons, although they give several instances of the *Matres*.

As our testimony is wholly monumental, we should

* Steiner's *Codex Inscriptionum Romanarum Rheni*. Darmstadt, 1857.

endeavour to ascertain what is really its extent. It is quite impossible to say, until the museums and private collections in France, Germany and Italy have been examined, and this is a task too weighty I fear for the very few earnest inquirers we can expect assistance from. From what is seen before us we may, I submit, conclude that the *Deæ Matres*, in the belief of their worshippers, possessed powers extensive and general, presiding over the earth and the fruits of the earth, human nature, public and private, civil and military; the soldier in the field, the tiller of the land, abroad and at home.

The *Matronæ*, considered strictly, appear to be more confined to the great feminine principle of nature in its various stages and conditions; guardians of women in their maturity and motherhood; and of their offspring. The *Junones*, while nearly allied to them, may, originally, have been adored as the guardians of woman in childbirth. To whom does Glycerium appeal but to *Juno*? "*Juno Lucina, fer opem, obsecro te.*"* Such was the pliability and interchangeableness of the Roman mythology that most probably these triads were never scanned very rigidly, and great latitude was used and tolerated in their worship; and this all the more the further their votaries were removed from the state influence of the priesthood in capitals and chief cities.

THE DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS AT PROCOLITIA.

My friend Dr. John Evans, in his Annual Address† as President of the Numismatic Society of London, notices a brief paper I addressed to the Society on the discovery of

* Terence, *Andria*, act iii, sc. 1.

† *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xix, new series; *Proceedings* of the Society, p. 15.

altars and treasure in the well or fountain of the goddess Coventina at Procolitia; substantially the same as that printed in the present volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*.

Dr. Evans dissents from my conclusions as regards the cause of the deposit in the well of the immense mass of coins, amounting altogether, in Dr. Bruce's estimate, to fifteen or sixteen thousand; and probably more, for large numbers were extracted by pilferers. He views them as votive offerings, objecting to my opinion that they formed part of the contents of the military chest of the garrison, deposited at a period indicated by the latest coins; not as votive offerings, but from necessity in the face of some imminent danger.

Dr. Evans remarks, "We have only to look at any of the large hoards of coins deposited during the fourth century, which from time to time have been found in Britain, in order to be convinced that the coins from Procolitia, whatever the origin of their deposit, are not characteristic of the currency of the period. In such hoards the large brass coins of the earlier emperors are, as a rule, conspicuous by their absence. The coins in such hoards rarely comprise any varying in date by more than a quarter of a century, or half a century at the outside; but, at Procolitia, the coins extend over about 350 years, and nearly every emperor and empress is represented."

My friend could have followed his argument further by remarking that, in the numerous hoards of coins to which he alludes, there are no such mixture of gold, silver, and of large, middle, and small brass, such as we find in this extraordinary deposit; but, at the same time, it is difficult to disbelieve that the traders and residents in a fixed population must have had in their coffer collections quite as diversified as that in the well at Coventina. But I contend that the latter was public and not private pro-

perty. It is not easy to say why the hoards dug up all over the land should generally be so restricted to one metal and to a limited space of time. It is impossible to imagine that, because new mintages were imported continually, the old coinages ever became extinct. The coins of many hoards are so fresh that they could never have been much, if at all, circulated; and upon this fact arises a question. We have to consider what they are likely to have been; whether many of them are not just as they were imported from Gaul, Germany, or Italy, and had never been separated and dispersed by circulation.

Dr. Evans does not lay much stress on the fact that the bulk of the large brass coins show by their defaced condition that they must have been very long in circulation; neither, in reference to this fact, does he attach much weight to the general fine state of the coins unquestionably identified as having been used for votive offerings; but when, from many instances, fine conservation appears as a motive and a rule, the extreme in an opposite direction has, surely, to be explained by some cause more reasonable than that of caprice or fashion. "The waste of current money", Mr. Clayton remarks, "if thrown to any extent into the water by way of offering, must have been most unsatisfactory to the Pagan priests. Such a waste did not take place in the case of the goddess Sequana, where the coins of three centuries, evidently the fruits of offerings, were found collected in a vase; and it is impossible to say that such a waste did take place in the fountain of Bandusia, in the thermal waters of Borvona, or in the Acque Appollinari; but it did take place to some extent in rivers and lakes, in the Clitumnus, the Nile, and in the lakes Cirzio and Faltirona, which would be free from the inspection or control of the priests."*

* *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. viii, new series, p. 31.

That the fibulae and other ornaments, and also some of the coins, were thrown into the well as votive offerings has never been doubted. Mr. Clayton assumes, with some reason, that the temple of Coventina was built in the reign of Antoninus Pius; that then the votive tablet was set up by T. D. Cosconianus, praefect of the cohort in garrison at Procolitia; and that at this time were deposited some of the coins of Antoninus Pius which, apparently, had never been in circulation. Of such coins there are only a few.

Mr. Clayton states that the position in which the various objects were found does not seem to throw any light on the order of the deposit. There were coins of the Lower Empire both at the top and at the bottom. While cleaning the large and second brass we noticed several of the small late coins firmly oxidised to the earlier. The settlement of the question must depend upon the broad and general view of the main testimony; the 4 cwt. of coins, and the long circulation of the earlier kinds; the altars, the votive tablet and votive earthenware vessels. It seems to me impossible to believe that any other cause than that of some great and imminent calamity could have induced the custodians of the temple to commit such monuments, intended to be seen and read, to the obscurity of a well filled with water. I doubt if the advocates of a votive offering theory have considered this fact in connection with that so very similar, the burial of the altars, for preservation, at Maryport, to which I have referred in p. 128.

Adhering to my opinion that the bulk of these 15,000 or 16,000 coins (over 4 cwt.) was deposited for concealment, there seems a difficulty in suggesting an earlier period for their deposit than that indicated by the latest in date, just prior to the removal of the garrison from Pro-

colitia. The altars would have been extricated on the removal of danger, and the treasure also: but it would seem as if ruin had fallen alike upon temple and station; and that the district of Procolitia had been swept for ever of its population, and restored to its normal state of desolate wildness. The ruins may have sheltered a few shepherds; but the nymphs forsook the fountains; the cohort of Batavi marched southwards, never to return; and oblivion shrouded the place and its associations, until the present *Genius Loci* revealed the long lost memorials which now exercise our criticism and gratify our imagination.

I cannot see how it is possible to limit the consideration of the 4 cwt. of coins to the coins themselves, disconnected with their association with the votive altars and earthen vessels and the sculptures. The same cause for the immersion of the latter must be ascribed to the former. If it were possible to suppose that to piety, in so small a community, could be attributed this enormous amount of concealed money, it surely must be impossible to believe that the altars and earthen vessels so carefully inscribed, and the sculpture worked with some pains and ability, and both meant to meet the eye, could, under any circumstances, have been thus put out of sight as votive offerings! It would be quite as reasonable to believe that the altars buried at Maryport (before referred to) had been placed there as votive offerings, not to the deities to whom they are inscribed, but to the lesser gods and goddesses of the hills and plains, or to some such protectress of the locality itself, as Coventina. Of all the advocates of the votive offering motive advanced to explain the contents of the well of Coventina, not one, so far as I know, has attempted to grapple with this fatal objection to the theory.

From another point of view the great improbability of the bulk of these coins having ever been votive offerings may be shewn by the utter absence of similar deposits in other localities where, we may be sure, that religious feelings operated in the same way with larger populations. If the ten or twelve hundred, estimated as the number of inhabitants of Procolitia, threw away 15,000 coins in the course of two or three centuries, what must have been the waste at other stations and in the towns throughout the province? It would be vast beyond calculation; and as unintelligible as vast. The coins found in the line of the transits of the rivers at Mayenne in France and of London deposited without much doubt as offerings to the tutelary deities, bear no proportion, when the constant traffic of the populous places is considered, to the masses buried in the secluded fountain of Coventina; and they are as unlike in character, being usually fresh, while the bulk of the hoard at Procolitia has palpably undergone the attrition of very long circulation, almost to utter defacement. The coins also of the temple of the Dea Sequana are all in fine preservation; and these were not thrown into the water, but kept carefully preserved by the priests.

The weight of the large and second brass coins must have rendered them very inconvenient for carriage in any great number; and the need of small change must have been severely felt. But it is not to be supposed that when, in the later times of the Empire, small brass and billon money was adopted, that therefore the enormous masses of the large coins were exhausted or withdrawn from circulation. There must have been then as now, money changers in the towns and great military stations; and there we can imagine that the more cumbrous coins would accumulate; and this, probably, was the case at Procolitia. Most of what was portable was removed

when fear came upon the garrison ; the rest, with the altars and votive offerings, were consigned, for concealment, to the fountain.

To Dr. Evans I am grateful for his opinion, for nothing is more useful than searching inquiry freely imparted ; and I am flattered by the friendly manner in which he has recalled my paper to the notice of the Numismatic Society, with which I have been so long connected, and from which I have ever received kindnesses, disproportionate, I fear, to my deserts.

I supplement my remarks with a few instances of discoveries of hoards of coins, the absence of large brass in which cannot possibly denote that that important branch of the currency had been withdrawn from circulation in any way, whether superseded or exhausted. Under the head of "Condercum",* Dr. Bruce states :

"The discovery was made in the *castellum* next to the station of *Vindobala*. The coins were nearly 500 in number, and consisted wholly of *denarii*, with the exception of 16 gold pieces. They are as follows : 8 consular ; 5 gold and 8 silver of Nero ; 2 silver, Galba ; 6 silver, Vitellius ; 5 gold and 140 silver, Vespasian ; 22 silver, Titus ; 1 gold and 41 silver, Domitian ; 6 silver, Nerva ; 2 gold and 95 silver, Trajan ; 2 gold and 79 silver, Hadrian ; 49 silver, Antoninus Pius ; 1 gold and 12 silver, Marcus Aurelius. It is worthy of note that those coins are most numerous which we may suppose to have been introduced into the country during periods of great military activity. The coins, for example, of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian (209) may be supposed to represent the supplies transmitted to Britain during the campaigns of Agricola. The coins of Trajan and Hadrian (178) may indicate the activity which prevailed at the time the Wall was built. As the coins in this find are numerous, and are all of pure metal, they probably

* *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 26.

belonged to the military chest. Those of Hadrian and his successors are in excellent preservation. The impression made upon the mind of the writer, after a careful examination of them, is that in consequence of some apprehended calamity, the coins had been concealed in the *castellum* where they were found, a very few years, two or three, after the date of the latest coin; that the mural garrison had been overpowered by their assailants, the depositors of the treasure slain, the neighbouring fortresses involved in ruin; and that when the Romans succeeded in regaining their ground, they rebuilt the *castellum* and neighbouring works without waiting to clear away the ruins of fallen structures."

The Thorngraston Find, as it is called, is from the ancient quarries at Borcombe Hill, near the station of *Borcovicus*.* Being found in a bronze purse adapted to be carried upon the arm, it, no doubt, belonged to a private person who had concealed it. The hoard consisted of nine Consular coins; three in gold, of Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian. The others, denarii from Nero to Hadrian; the entire number, sixty-three. The owner, no doubt, carried with him the brass money, of which we may suppose he possessed a proportionate amount.

In September last a hoard of small brass and billon coins was found nearly midway between Benwell (*Condercum*) and Rutchester (*Vindobala*), close to the southern face of the wall of Hadrian. It consisted of over 5000, chiefly of Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, the Tetrici, and a few of Aurelian, the intervening emperors and empresses from Otacilia being sparingly represented.† In all probability it was deposited by one of the soldiers of the garrisons of these important stations who had departed to Gaul under the standard of Tetricus and never returned.

* *The Roman Wall*. Third edition, p. 419.

† It is fully described by Mr. Clayton and Mr. Blair in the *Archæologia Æliana*, 1880.

The numerous similar hoards point to the same epoch and motive of deposit. The coins collected at Jublains, the site of the chief city and *castrum* of the Diablintes, afford like evidence of the result of the overthrow of the rule of Tetricus by Aurelian.* Additional testimony has very recently confirmed my opinion formed many years since. A large hoard of coins has been discovered none of which appear to be later than the reign of Tetricus.†

The hoard of nearly 30,000 coins found at Blackmoor in Hampshire is an unquestionable index to the overthrow of Allectus by Asclepiodotus, in command under Constantius Chlorus. The coins of Allectus are ninety; of Carausius, 545; of Constantius only a single specimen. Of the Tetrici there are over 14,000, shewing the enormous issue by those emperors and its large share in the circulation at the close of the reign of Allectus. It is fortunate that this important hoard fell into the hands of Lord Selborne. Nothing can be more complete and satisfactory than his published description.‡

Other catastrophes of the province are equally strikingly marked by the numerous hoards of coins from time to time discovered, the latest being masses of those of Arcadius and Honorius, such as have been found in the Isle of Wight.

* *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. iii, p. 117.

† I am indebted to M. H. Barbe for this information; as well as for an account of other important discoveries made since I and Mr. Warne visited Jublains.

‡ *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1877, pp. 90 to 156, with plates.





F. J. Leas Del.

COINS OF CARAUSIUS AND ALLECTUS.

COINS OF CARAUSIUS AND ALLECTUS.

PLATE XXII.

(Sixth of the Series).

1. *Obv.* IMPCCARAVSIVSPFAVG. Radiated head, and bust in the paludamentum, to the right. *Rev.* LEG. IIII FLA. A centaur, to the right; in the exergue, S.C.

2. *Obv.* IMPCARAVSIVSPFAVG. Head and bust as the preceding coin. *Rev.* LEGI IIII FLA. A centaur to the left; in the exergue, CXXI.

These well preserved coins, engraved from a cast and drawing I made many years since, were found, I think, in Lincolnshire. As regards the centaur and in brass, they appear to be unpublished. Stukeley gives one with two lions meeting; above them a human head; and one with a single lion, is cited in Akerman's "Coins of the Romans relating to Britain", as a coin not uncommon. One in silver, as No .2, in the collection of Mr. Brumell, is described in this work.

Mr. Akerman considers that most of the legionary coins of Carausius are merely copies of coins of Gallienus, and that this fact lessens their interest.

But there is no reason for supposing that because they accord with coins of Gallienus, and also of Severus and Victorinus, that they are copies; or, if copies, unjustifiably so. The coins of Carausius generally shew too much thought and adaptation to circumstances, for these legionary examples to be suspected, because they record legions

not permanently or wholly quartered in Britain. We have monumental evidence of the most positive and satisfactory kind to confirm several of the numismatic proofs which might have stood alone, in reflecting that detachments from various legions were brought into Britain by Severus and probably left in the province after his departure. The twenty-second legion, surnamed *Primigenia*, is one of those recorded on third brass coins of Carausius. It is shewn by an inscription found in the *castrum* at Plumpton in Cumberland that a *Vexillation* of this legion was quartered there; and another inscription, found in Italy, proves that, in the reign of Hadrian, vexillations of the seventh legion, surnamed *Gemina*; of the eighth, surnamed *Augusta*; and of the twenty-second, surnamed *Primigenia*, were brought into Britain.* The eighth legion is also recorded on the boss of a shield found in the mouth of the Tyne.† The fourth legion surnamed *Flavia* on coins of Severus; and *Flavia P. F.* on coins of Victorinus, probably furnished a vexillation to the expedition of Severus, which, as probably, remained in Britain up to and after the reigns of Victorinus and Carausius, loyal in turn both to legitimacy and to usurpation, whichever happened to be the stronger.

3. *Obv.* IMPCCARAVSIVSPFINAVG. Radiated head; bust in the paludamentum, to the right. *Rev.* CONCORDIA MIL. Two figures; the one armed with helmet and spear; the other holding a standard, joining hands, each of which holds some pendent object, possibly a fillet. As regards the IN, for *Invictus*, on the obverse, the coin is unpublished.

4. *Obv.* IMPCMCARAVSIVSPAVG. As No. 3. *Rev.* .ERCV. . OCONAVG. Head and bust as No. 3.

* *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, pp. 410, 411.

† *Idem*, p. 58.

Mercury, with caduceus and purse, standing, to the left.

This unique coin has travelled since its discovery at Richborough. It was given by Mr. Reader, of Sandwich, to M. De Gerville of Valognes in Normandy, who gave it to me. It is recorded but not engraved in my *Antiquities of Richborough, etc.*

5. *Obv.* IMPCARAVSIVSPFAVG. As the preceding. *Rev.* CO..TESAV. The legend commences from the bottom, to the right. The third letter would seem to have the lower parts of an M; the T and E are ligatured. It may thus be considered to read COMITES AV(G). This reading is very consistent with the group of three figures, provided we consider the central as Carausius himself. The others then would be Salus, or Tutela, and a God not obvious from any attribute. This absence of any distinguishing emblem makes me suspect whether a deity is intended; and induces a suggestion whether one figure may not be intended for Carausius himself. If so, he is assigning a youthful person to the protection of a goddess; but neither history nor coins allude to a son; and the legend also is against the supposition. We must rest in doubt; and in hope of discovering a better struck specimen. At present it is unique. I do not appear to have noted how I obtained it; but I think from Mr. Eastwood.

6. *Obv.* IMPCCARAVSIVSPFAVG. As before. *Rev.* PAX AVG; in the field S.P.; in the exergue, M.L. A male figure, standing, to the right, with a javelin reversed, and a small light shield, or target, on the left arm. The legs are naked. The *Pax* type of Carausius, a female with the *hasta pura* and olive branch or other emblem, is exceedingly common; but this personification I do not remember to occur elsewhere. There are rare *Pax* types with a

female holding two standards; a Victory; and others; but they are all female figures.

7. *Obv.* IMPCCARAVSIVSPFAVG. Head and bust as before. *Rev.* ROMAE AETER; in the exergue, s.p. Rome seated upon a shield, holding in her extended right hand a Victory with wreath; in her left hand the *hasta pura* held perpendicularly.

Roma Æterna is among the legends of the earliest coins struck by Carausius in Gaul (see vol. v, p. 242); and it was repeated afterwards upon those struck in Britain, Rome being personified seated in a temple; or upon spoils; in the latter case usually with an attendant. On this coin she is alone, and holds a small image of Victory; in this respect the coin appears to be a new variety. See vol. vi, pl. xx.

8. *Obv.* IMPC.....IVSPFIAVG. As before. *Rev.* .OTIS XMVLXX. Two draped figures sacrificing over an altar.

This legend occurs with an altar (vol. iv, pl. xxx); and also with a wreath; but I cannot refer to accompaniments as in the specimen here given.

9. *Obv.* IMPCALLECTVSPFAVG. Radiated head; bust in armour to the right. *Rev.* PROVIDENTIA AVG; in the field, s.p.; in the exergue C. Type of Providence.

This coin is selected on account of the very superior workmanship of the obverse; the type of Providence being particularly common; but diversified in minute details.

10. *Obv.* IMPCALLECTVSPFAVG. As No. 9. *Rev.* VIRTUS AVG; in the field s.a.; in the exergue M.L. Hercules in the lion's skin with club, standing.

This apparently unique coin, described by Akerman, does not appear to have been engraved. The legend, with

the exception of some instances in which it is associated with Mars or a soldier, usually accompanies the galley type.

11. *Obv.* IMP.CALLECTVSPFAVG. Head and bust as on the preceding. *Rev.* VIRTVS AVG; in the exergue Q.L. A galley, shewing six oars and rowers; remarkable for a bird, probably the eagle, upon the mast-head. Of this I am not aware of another example.

12. *Obv.* IMP.CALLECTVSPFAVG. As No. 11. *Rev.* VIRTUS AVG; in the exergue Q.L. Victory, with palm branch and wreath, standing in the centre of a galley with rowers but without a mast.

This unique coin, in the possession of Mr. Humphrey Wickham, was found at Higham near Strood.

As Britain was won and held by the channel fleet, the naval power is symbolised by a ship with the legends *Felicitas* and *Lactitia*. On the coins of Allectus the ship with *Virtus Augusti* is one of the most common types. The emperor connects his navy expressly with himself and his own valour. He had probably been brought up to the sea, and so was a better admiral than general. So far as we can gather from the historical notices which have come down to us, the fleet of Allectus, when Constantius resolved to recover Britain to Rome, was divided; one part being stationed in the direction of Dover or Hythe; the other off the Isle of Wight. The latter was eluded by the commander of one division of the Roman fleet by the intervention of a dense fog which enabled the invading force to pass by unobserved and to land unopposed upon the coast of Baitain. As the landing of men and stores must have occupied some days, time was afforded for Allectus to gain information; and, probably ignorant of the full design of Constantius, he left the command of

his ships and marched, hastily, with land forces, to meet Asclepiodotus, who was probably then on his march towards London. The circumstances are, in many respects, similar to those which, centuries after, were disastrous to Harold. Both armies were hastily levied; both had long and difficult marches; and both had to encounter armies well trained, well provisioned and in good heart. It is not likely that Allectus had time to draw the legions or auxiliaries from the north of Britain, even if he could have relied upon their allegiance; and he probably had to depend almost wholly upon Franks and Batavians, who, it appears, had been taken into his service. Of the personal courage of Allectus there can be no doubt; but that is only a small element in what constitutes a great or a successful general.

ROMAN MONUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

PLATES XXIII AND XXIV.

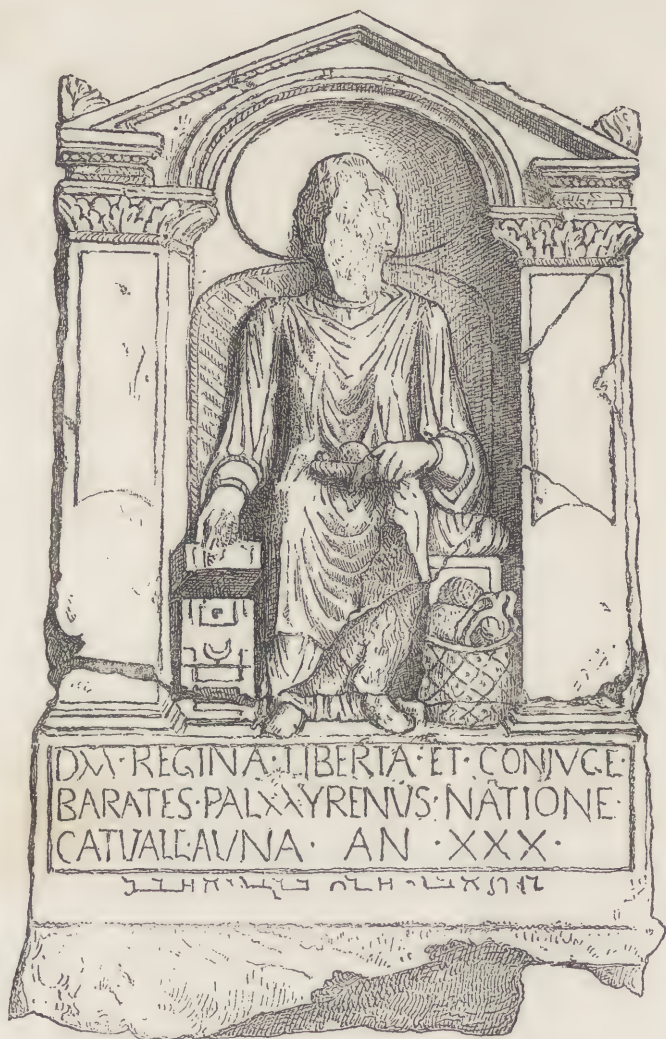
IN previous volumes are given a rather extensive collection of sculptures which open to us Roman private life; and allow us to see something of in-door occupations, trades, professions, sentiments, and feelings, all springing from that powerful motive, regard for the memory of departed friends. Igel, Lillebonne, Orleans, Bordeaux, Dijon, Vaison, Sens, Mayence, and other places in France and Germany, the former country chiefly, have supplied these valuable illustrations from stores by no means exhausted, but widely spread and not always easy of access. From England not much has been contributed beyond the scene on the Chester slab, one of a rather common class (*Col. Ant.*, vol. vi, pl. viii); two or three of a similar kind, engraved in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*; and the fragment from Carlisle, given in page 249 of my sixth volume.

It was not to be supposed that such monuments had not been erected in Britain as well as in Gaul; recent discoveries furnish examples; but they have shared the fate of all works of art savouring of paganism. Had the early Christian converts possessed more confidence in themselves and in their belief, they might have pointed to these sculptures as trophies of victory for the new religion, even if they could not appreciate their artistic or historical claims to preservation. The two less mutilated exceptions to the havoc made by barbarism or fanaticism

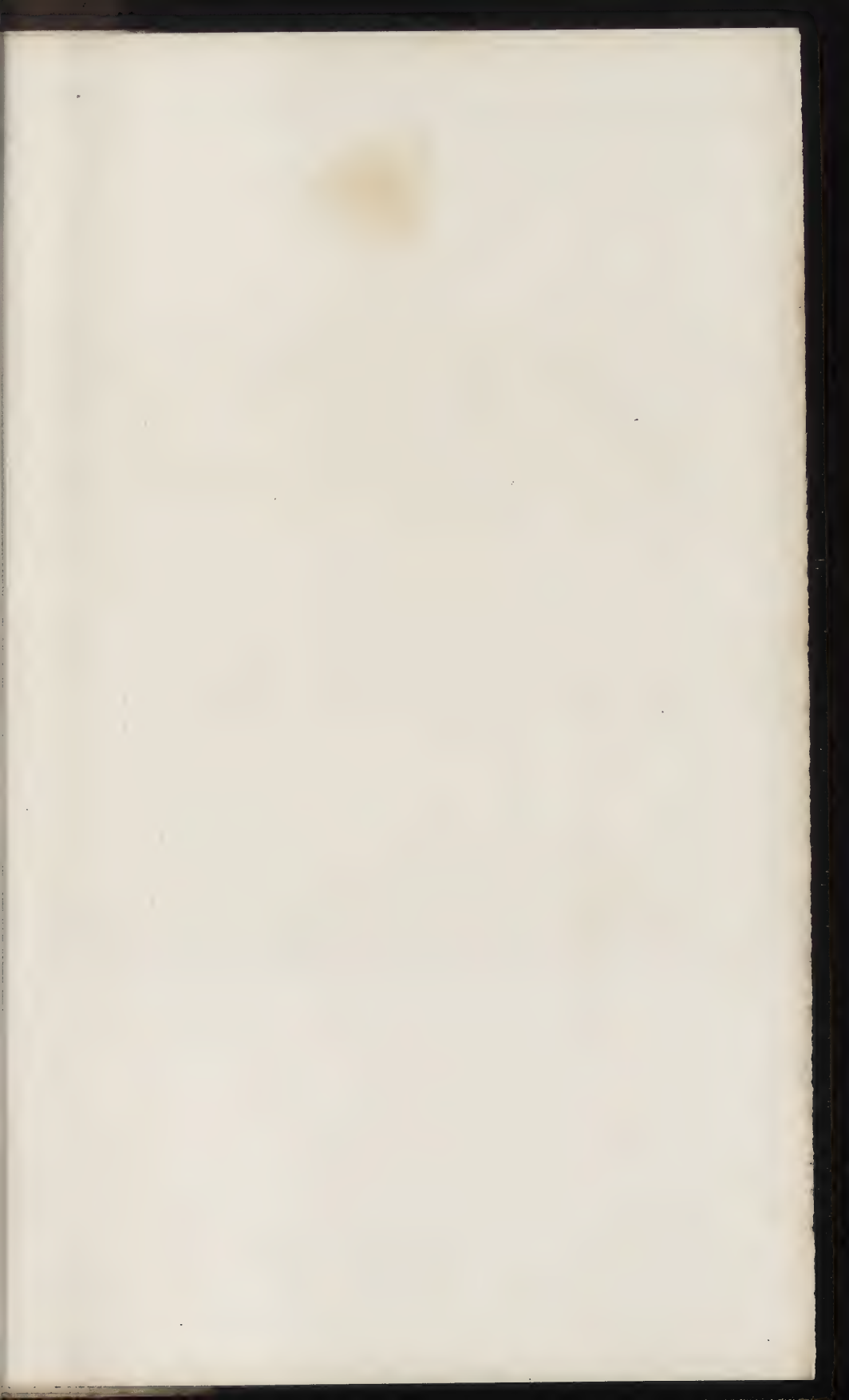
(plates XXIII and XXIV), no doubt owe their safety to some pious conservative hands which laid them in the ground, out of sight. But even these have not wholly escaped the spoiler, the faces of both being disfigured.

The first of these monuments, that of South Shields, I have already spoken of in this volume (pages 105 to 107). The engraving will help a more complete appreciation of its great interest. The lady, of the British nation, the Catuvellauni, married to a Palmyrene merchant, named Barates, settled at the military station and town, now the site of the suburbs of South Shields, recently, by the aid of Mr. Robert Blair, brought into the pale of national archæology, is represented as seated in a large wicker chair, at work upon some appendage to the female attire or house decoration, much in the same manner as we are accustomed to see ladies of the present day employed in hours of domestic leisure and privacy. She is surrounded with the implements and utensils of her elegant and useful occupation; the work-basket by her left side is filled with them; her left hand holds materials bound round a long pin with a globular head; and her right hand raises the lid of a substantial metal-bound chest provided with lock and key, either to take from or deposit within something connected with her handicraft. It is a pleasing picture of Romano-British home-life, intended, no doubt, by the widower, to commemorate the household virtue and industrial habits of his departed wife. The motive and treatment are very analogous to those of the sepulchral monument of Blussus and Merimane in the museum of Mayence, engraved in *Col. Ant.*, vol. ii, plate xxx. On this the lady is also represented with her implements of handiwork, and the addition of a lap-dog. There is, however, a marked difference in the costume of the two ladies; while that of Merimane is richly decorated and light,





DISCOVERED AT SOUTH SHIELDS.





DISCOVERED NEAR CARLISLE.

Regina is more fully and less ostentatiously clothed, if not significant of more homely habits, certainly better adapted for the north of Britain. The former is rich in ornaments; the latter has merely a torques or necklace. The cuffs of the upper garments of both turn back like the modern gauntlet-cuffs. The lady of the Rhine appears to be winding the thread into balls from the full spindle; the lady of Shields, with full basket and chest, is giving undivided attention to her occupation.

I have remarked on the importance of the recognition, in the inscription, of the Catuvellauni as a *natio* in accordance with other inscriptions in which British tribes are designated as *civitates*; and I have also drawn attention to the commercial intercourse between Syria and Britain. Barates must have been a man in good position as a trader; and his settlement near a seaport in Britain must have been conducive to his prosperity. While the numerous monuments of the north of Britain almost invariably speak of war and military occupation, it is a relief to the mind to witness a revelation of peace, commerce, and domestic tranquillity, and, it may be, happiness.

The inscription in the Palmyrene character, explained by Dr. Wright in a paper by Mr. De Gray Birch in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxxiv, is merely an abbreviation of the Latin with the omission of age and nationality, and with the addition of an interjection of grief. Regina is a common name, as is the masculine Reginus.

The height of the figure is about 2 ft. 6 in.; the height of the stone is 4 ft. 6 in.; its width 2 ft. 3 in. The material, Mr. Blair states, is a rather close-grained red sandstone.

Plate xxiv.—For the photograph from which this plate is prepared, I am indebted to Mr. Richard S. Ferguson,

F.S.A., and to him is also due some particulars respecting its discovery, near Carlisle.

Like the Shields sculpture, it is of the highest interest in presenting a picture of Roman social life in the north of Britain; but, unfortunately, it is dissociated from its inscription, which, it is feared, cannot be recovered.

Also like that of Shields, it is a monument erected by a widower to his departed wife, who, with her child beside her, is seated in a capacious chair with a high semicircular back, and apparently cushioned. Her left hand rests upon the child who is playing with a pigeon or dove in her lap; while her right hand holds a large expanded fan. This is a most remarkable object, as it resembles perfectly the modern fan, considered to have been introduced so late as the seventeenth century, and to this period is the folding fan ascribed by all writers on costume. It is one of many instances in which supposed modern inventions have been proved to be ancient. Totally unlike the classical fan, it is probably of provincial origin, and may never have been entirely out of use in the north of Europe. Yet it would be hazardous to assert this without further research. In a paper on "Excavations in the City of Cumæ", printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii, Mr. Ashpitel states (page 322), speaking of a sepulchral interment: "A most careful search was immediately instituted into the other contents of the tomb. There were found, first, a number of very thin plates of bone, about five or six inches long, and an inch wide. These were supposed, with great reason, to have been the sticks, as we call them, of a lady's fan." The interment denoted a lady of wealth; and it was remarkable in other respects, especially for a head of wax with eyes of paste or glass. A coin of Diocletian gave an approximate date.

Another example of the folding-up Roman fan is af-

forded in a sepulchral monument discovered at Autun in one of the ancient cemeteries adjoining the town. The sculpture is rude, like that of most of the monuments of that celebrated town which have been preserved, a fact significant of the destruction of the better and more conspicuous works. This is mutilated and without inscription. It represents a girl holding a fan and a drinking-cup, the latter being a very common emblem of sepulchral monuments in many of the towns in France.*



Mr. Ferguson thus speaks of the discovery : "This slab was found in November 1878, near Murrell Hill, Carlisle, in a locality which, though now almost covered by buildings, is far outside the limits of the Roman city of Luguwallum. It is not, however, very far from the road by which the Romans must have gone from Luguwallum (Roman Carlisle) to Dalston, near which place they worked some quarries, now known as Shawk Quarries, where is, or was, a Roman inscription, figured No. 505 in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*.† In this locality, the north end of Murrell Hill, excavations were being made by Mr. James Nelson,

* Copied from *Autun Archéologique*, p. 285. Autun, 1848.

† Cut in the rock, by the Roman quarrymen.

of Carlisle, for the purpose of extending his marble works, when the workmen hit upon the fine slab now described.

"The excavators came upon a considerable pit dug in the undisturbed clay, and afterwards filled up; all trace being obliterated by a continuous top spit of vegetable earth, nigh two feet deep. The slab itself lay at the bottom of the pit, face downwards. On careful search, after the slab had been found, I could find nothing but a very minute fragment of Samian ware."*

Dr. Bruce, in a letter to Mr. Ferguson, compares the lions devouring human heads with No. 480 in his *Lapidarium*, found at Stanwix; and the drapery with that of No. 500; and he thinks that the same sculptor executed all three. The former, however, seems very inferior; and the adjuncts, though similar, were common to funereal monuments. The central figure, it may be remarked, seems also to be a lion holding a human head between its paws. Mr. Ferguson states that the heads seem to have been intentionally mutilated; and the upper portion of the dexter pilaster has been chiseled off.

The monument is of grey chalk stone; in height, 4 feet 4 inches; in width, 2 feet 11 inches.

Bowness occupies the site of the last station to the west on the Roman Wall. Two inscriptions have been found there, erected by tribunes of a cohort, not named, to Gallus and Volusianus. The second and sixth legions are also named on stones indicating work done by them; and there is an altar to "Belatucader". In Dr. Bruce's splendid *Lapidarium*, the paucity of monuments places Bowness in a very humble position with respect to the productiveness of most of the other stations on the line of the Wall. Yet I am assured that a grave in the churchyard can

* Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, p. 326. Kendal, 1880.

scarcely be dug without disclosing, not extricating, some Roman monument.

Mr. Ferguson, to whom we are already much indebted, has presented me with the photograph of a recently discovered monument from the churchyard, which, like the



Roman sepulchral monument discovered at Bowness.

preceding, is extremely interesting, although deprived of its inscription and mutilated. The costume is in favour of the supposition that the figure is that of a very young female. She holds a bird, a pigeon or dove, in one hand; and with the other is feeding or caressing a hound.

The sentiment which dictated these emblems of the domestic virtues was common in all ages and honourable to the survivors. It has been shown in the Bordeaux and other sculptures in diversified manifestations. In the present instance it is strikingly, and humorously, illustrated by a passage in Petronius Arbiter, who in his vivid description of the feast of Trimalchio, makes the ostentatious host give directions to his sculptor to see to his funereal monument, having resolved wisely to erect it while living.

We have seen at the present day similar instances of worldly foresight. After instructions in regard to himself, he adds: "And on my right hand place the statue of my wife Fortunata holding a pigeon and leading her little dog* attached to her girdle by a string." Trimalchio also orders a dog to be placed at the feet of his own statue, and he directs other monumental details, all of which are to be equally well recognised in remains yet preserved.

The Bowness sculpture is 2 feet 3 inches high, and 1 foot 8 inches wide.

ROMAN VILLA AT MORTON, ISLE OF WIGHT.

The discovery of the Roman villa at Carisbrooke (see vol. vi, pp. 121 to 128) opened a new prospect for the archæology of the Isle of Wight, which is now widened by the disclosure of another, on the slope of an elevated field called "Ten Acre Field", on Morton Farm, near Brading. For this we are indebted to Captain Thorpe, whose tastes happily led him to investigate the early remains in the neighbourhood of his residence at Yarbridge. Captain Thorpe, having secured permission and co-operation from the tenant, Mrs. Munns, directed excavations which have laid open several apartments of a building which must have been of considerable extent; but, at present, its entire dimensions are unknown, as the excavations have not gone beyond the property in the holding of Mrs. Munns. In the course of a few months it is probable that further researches will be made, as Lady Oglander,

* "Ad dexteram meam ponas statuam Fortunatæ meæ columbam tenentem, et catellam cingula alligatam ducat."—Lib. i.

the proprietor of the adjoining land, has kindly countenanced the projects of a few ardent antiquaries anxious to complete the researches so auspiciously commenced.*

The villa, although in itself it may present no very novel features beyond a pictorial pavement with unusual designs, is of the highest interest as regards the Roman history of the island; and no one with an educated mind can stand upon its ruins and look around him without being inundated by a train of reflections on the state of Vectis after its subjection by Vespasian, in command under Claudius; how soon it became Romanised; and upon what terms the conquerors made their yoke so light, that they lived in security in the midst of a subjected warlike people, who, unless with the loss of freedom they had gained more than an equivalent, might have overpowered the new settlers at any moment. No military force, it would seem, was permanently allotted to the Island; and, therefore, it must be presumed that the arts and civilisation of the intruders were welcomed here as in the whole of the south of Britain. Then, what was the condition of the inhabitants under the new government exacting tribute the grand incentive to the mighty and expensive armaments sent from far Italy to remote Britain? No doubt, as Tacitus remarks, peace was achieved by making the petty kings and rulers instruments for the subjection of their own people by immunities and honours. The province became soon, in every respect, more productive and prosperous, and the people more contented and happy, than when with nominal freedom they were subjected to constant wars under rival and restless rulers, such as the natives princes are represented to have been.

The villas at Carisbrooke; at Comby (on the north of

* At the head of these are Messrs. J. E. Price, F.S.A., and Cornelius Nicholson, F.S.A., and, it is hoped, Captain Thorpe.

Arreton), and at Morton, give indications, over a wide extent of ground, of the state of Vectis under the Romans. Then, as now, we may assume, flocks and herds grazed the hills and meadows; the ploughman ploughed the fields, the sower sowed and the reaper reaped them. Then, as now, the duties of the seasons followed each other with fluctuating success; there were imports and exports; among the latter very probably chalk from the long disused pits which lie along the downs throughout the island. The deposits of coins of Arcadius and Honorius at Cliffe and Wroxhall are a testimony in another direction of late occupation; and it is impossible to say what may yet lie buried when so much hitherto unsuspected has been brought to light in so short a space of time.

The pavements are very inferior to those of many villas; we may say to most of those published by Lysons, Artis, and others, such as have been found at Woodchester, Cirencester, Frampton, Lydney, Pitney, Thruxton, Bramdean, Bignor, and London; and, indeed, they may be called of a third class. One, however, presents certain novelties as regards the subjects, not the execution, which is inferior, although not wanting in spirit. It is square. On the western side are two gladiators, one with a trident, the other with a net, in combat. The corresponding design to this has been destroyed. On the north is an animal like a fox, under a tree, which if intended for a vine, as has been conjectured, is a very poor representation. A building with a cupola completes this picture. On the south, by the side of a small edifice with a flight of steps, stands the figure of a man with the head and feet of a cock, and on his right, at a little distance, two griffins. In the centre is the head and bust of a Bacchante; and similar figures fill the two angles which are preserved. Each of these holds a sceptre or staff, at the top

of which is a small cross, such as is held by deities or nymphs in the Pitney pavement. One of the other rooms is floored in a chequer pattern; and another with plain white tessellæ; the passages and borders in coarse red. From the fragments preserved it is evident that the wall of one of the rooms was painted in a superior and elegant style with birds and foliage.

Acquaintance with the ornamentation of Roman villas decides that much was left to the experience, means, and imagination of the *tessellarii* or professed workers of these figured floorings. The same subjects are continually found repeated in widely distant localities; sometimes treated with consummate skill and taste, and elaborately pictured. In other instances, as in the Morton villa, there is an incongruity assignable to the causes to which I have alluded.

The remains of the arch of a hypocaust are to be seen below the westernmost room, not yet fully excavated; and in the walls are flue tiles *in situ*. From the large quantity of broken flue tiles, it is apparent that some of the other apartments were heated. These, as well as the large flanged tiles used for various purposes, show skill in the making and burning quite as great as that evinced in the Roman tilework of Italy itself; and this uniformity is universal. The same remark may be made on the mortar; and, to a certain extent, on the pottery.

The villa was roofed with a thin slatey stone roughly cut into hexagons, and fastened with iron nails. It could have been only of one story in height, but width commensurated; and it will probably be shown by further excavations that the building was extensive and surrounded with the usual appendages to the *villa rustica*. The situation is extremely fine. The downs at the back stretch from Brading to Arreton; on the left, across the low land

(over which Captain Thorpe believes he has discovered an ancient ford), is Yaverland and the sea, with Sandown and Shanklin; and in the front and to the right a wide extent of the picturesque island scenery. At no very great distance on the border of the marsh land runs a bridle road to Arreton which, it may be safely assumed, was a *via* in the time of the Romans.

The excavations have disclosed but few objects of art such as are frequently found under similar circumstances; a proof that no sudden calamity overwhelmed the villa; but, confirmatory of its having been tenanted, probably for a long time after the Roman period. From a quantity of ashes and the blackened state of the white tesserae, it appears that a fireplace had been made in one of the rooms. When it became utterly deserted most of the building materials were carried off; and then, for centuries, it remained a ruin, until the slow and sure processes of nature covered the foundations and allowed the unsuspecting plough to do its annual work. The skull of a female which has been exhumed may be attributed to an early mediæval interment.

Only four coins have been found, all in small brass. The earliest is of Gallienus; two of Tetricus; and one of Allectus, with the reverse LAETITIA AVG., a galley; in the exergue, Q.C. The coin of Allectus, intrinsically of no great value, could but contribute to reflections while standing upon the ruins of this nameless villa, with the deep blue sea in the distance, upon which sailed the fleet in the last hours of his sovereignty over Vectis and Britain, powerless and unable to help when it might have turned the scale once more in his favour.

Mr. Nicholson has had a photograph taken of the ornamented flooring; and Mrs. Thorpe has made coloured drawings.

OUR CHURCH MONUMENTS.

The destruction of sepulchral monuments which is being rapidly accomplished, year by year, during the process of modern church restoration, demands the serious consideration and united action not only of archaeologists, but of all who are interested in the preservation of their ancestral memorials.

One example in the county of Essex, which, if not of quite recent occurrence, is of quite recent public disclosure, may be cited; not that it is by any means an isolated illustration, but that it exhibits one of more than ordinary wanton desecration. Not less than seven tombs have been despoiled of their brasses, which have passed into different private hands; but the altar tomb of Sir Anthony Brown, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and the munificent founder of the richly-endowed Grammar School which exists in the parish of South Weald, has been demolished, and other sepulchral memorials have been ejected from the church. Such is, in brief, the published narrative of a resident gentleman, and it has a very important bearing in connection with the "Report of the Sepulchral Monuments Committee of the Society of Antiquaries," presented to Parliament in 1872.

In February 1869, the First Commissioner of Her Majesty's Works requested the Council of the Society of Antiquaries to furnish him with a list of such regal and historical tombs or monuments existing, as in their opinion it would be desirable to place under the protection or supervision of the Government, with a view to their proper custody and preservation. Acting upon this, a committee was formed, who, in drawing up their resolution, say, "We had regard not to the value of the monu-

ments as mere works of art, but to the importance of the persons commemorated as actors in the great drama of our national history...and that in any scheme for the protection of these monuments, the object in view would be rather the conservation of existing memorials of our illustrious countrymen than the mere gratification of artistic taste or antiquarian curiosity; and that in this respect the simple monument of John Locke was more worthy of record than the more sumptuous monument erected to a person who had left no trace behind him in the history of his country." While admitting the abstract truth of this proposition, the obvious reply is, "This ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone"; and, besides, a large number of historical monuments *are* excluded from the catalogue. It is true that the committee say elsewhere, with just appreciation of the importance of the subject, "A church, which to-day seems liable to no molestation, may to-morrow, at the suggestion of an ambitious architect, an ignorant committee, or a speculator in glazed tiles, be turned inside out; chantry chapels destroyed, and tombs needlessly removed from the honoured graves which they once marked; the modest slabs which recorded the burial of persons of historical importance allowed to be broken and carried away; or even, as in cases frequently reported to the Society of Antiquaries, the whole floor of a country church, with all the inscribed flag-stones, may be permanently concealed by a new encaustic-tile pavement. These things being so, it would seem that any measure of protection must apply to the whole list of monuments deemed worthy of preservation; and whatever the immediate probability of their careful preservation by the local authorities, or of their liability to injury, whether from carelessness, ignorance or malice."

This report, presented to Parliament and published eight years ago, was favourably reviewed by the press, and received by the public with approval; but no legislation has ensued upon it, and it is practically nugatory. The desecrations which the Society of Antiquaries deplore continue rife throughout the country, and the depredations during the last eight years have probably not been less than in those which have preceded; indeed, one of the twenty tombs in the county of Essex, which fell within the limited scope of the inquiry, as that of a chief justice, has been destroyed in the very face of it; nor need we doubt that had the tomb of John Locke stood in South Weald church, instead of at High Laver, the same fate would have befallen it. The same arbitrary will which disregards alike objects of art and antiquity, and the feelings of those who may possess ancestral monuments, would probably treat with the same reckless indifference the tomb of the great English philosopher.

The elaborate report is practically consigned to oblivion, or remains upon our shelves merely as a convenient index to a certain class of monuments. What is the remedy to put a stop to this continuous spoliation? Naturally we should look to the Society of Antiquaries to press upon the Government the urgent necessity of immediate legislation. Firstly, by procuring a complete registration of all sepulchral monuments; and then holding the incumbents and churchwardens responsible for their preservation. But this obvious step has never been taken. It is the duty of all societies; and, far more, of society at large. Until the monuments are fully registered, and the clergy made responsible for them, removal, concealment, and destruction will go on quietly as heretofore.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

It is a melancholy duty to render tribute to the memory of departed friends. But when the mode of discharging the self-imposed task has to be considered, the difficulties which almost always arise are so appalling that I almost doubt whether I can print anything worth printing. The published works of authors, upon which their fame rests, are open to all; and are sure to be criticised with a fair measure of justice. Beyond this there may have been chances from close personal intercourse of securing something of the character and spirit of a man as he appeared in everyday life; and if such chances can be made available, they never fail to be of interest, and form one of the chief charms of biography.

Of the early life of all whom I have attempted to record something, I know nothing, and can obtain nothing; common facts and incidents such as form the staple of regular biographies evade all attempts to recover them from oblivion. Thus it is with the first upon my present roll.

THOMAS WRIGHT.

It has been generally supposed that he was a native of Ludlow. This error arose from his affection for the place. He wrote a history of the town; and printed a good deal on the subject in various periodicals; but he was not born there, as he has told me. While staying with his particular friend, Mr. Henry Thomas Wace of Brooklands, near Shrewsbury, I accompanied him, at his earnest request, to

Ludlow, to see the Grammar School in which he was for sometime a scholar. He pointed out to me the desk at which he sat. I found that the memory of him was yet green there: the master made some appropriate remarks to the boys; and I asked for and obtained a half-holiday for them. The Rev. Dr. Sparrow, Master of the Grammar School, appreciates thoroughly the memory of Wright.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps thinks he was born at Leonminster. Mr. Joseph Clarke, also an intimate friend, writes to me thus: "When I was with Thomas Wright at the little town of Tenbury, in Worcestershire, he said 'Now I will tell you a secret I never told anybody; I was born here; and not at Ludlow'."

At Cambridge he formed acquaintance and friendship with John Mitchell Kemble. Their studies were congenial; and Kemble in the Preface to his translation of the epic poem of *Beowulf* records his high estimation of Wright. What separated them I know not; but the friendship was broken never to be repaired. Mr. Kemble, however, did not allow my intimacy with his discarded friend to stand in the way of his intercourse with me. He was not an unfrequent visitor; and he was kind and friendly. On one occasion, when he was spending the evening with me, I ventured on an attempt at reconciliation, having previously obtained Wright's sanction. Kemble patiently heard my arguments; and, for a moment, I thought they had prevailed; but my hopes were soon crushed, when, after a pause, he exclaimed very decidedly, "it may not be". Wright and Kemble were both very intimate with the Rev. Lambert Larking, of Ryarsh, the founder of the Kent Archaeological Society; and he told me that he had also failed to reunite them.

Saxon Literature, while these two eminent scholars were at Cambridge, did not receive much encouragement

at the University. Wright told me that Kemble advertised a course of lectures, expecting a good audience; but when the evening came, only he, his father, Charles Kemble, and one or two more attended. The eminent tragedian had come from London on purpose.

Some few years after our acquaintance, which had been mostly confined to meetings of the Society of Antiquaries, I broke to him a notion of establishing an association of a few earnest and ardent antiquaries on the basis of that founded in France by M. de Caumont, the success of which had been impressed upon me by visits to that country, and by correspondence with some eminent men, such as M. de Gerville of Valognes, M. Alexandre Hermand of St. Omer, M. Boucher de Perthes of Abbeville, and Dr. Riggollot of Amiens. Wright had already made his mark in France, and established a connection with some of the most distinguished literary men in the Parisian circle. He, at once, agreed with me that such a fraternity as I wished for was desirable; but he advised delay until we should have in our English Government a member such as the Minister of Public Instruction in France. I saw the force and wisdom of his views, which were, indeed, much the same as my own. I felt how important it would be to have the support of Government, if not to direct, to assist and control. I foresaw difficulties, indifference, or divergence of opinion without a superior power to appeal to; and I had consulted Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Hume on the subject of our ancient National Monuments, and obtained from both a hearty concurrence in my suggestions. Influential, honest, and strong-willed men, of very different political creeds, they were united on the question of the best mode to preserve and investigate our historical monumental remains, including the registration of church monuments, left to the mercy of renovators and restorers,

and destroyed or removed. To Sir Robert Inglis is due the preservation, at my intercession, of the fine fragment of the Roman Wall at Tower Hill, and this after it had been doomed to be pulled down.

Thus rested for awhile, in embryo, my somewhat bold and venturesome conception. I had anxious daily cares of business to attend to; I made time, so far as it was possible, to watch the excavations made in the City; and I held the office of Secretary to the Numismatic Society; so that, already, I had plenty of work on my hands. Still, when we met, Wright and I talked of our project. At this time, Mr. Clement Taylor Smythe of Maidstone, one of a small circle of antiquarian friends I had made in that town and neighbourhood, came to consult with me as to the best mode for forming for Kent what I was projecting for England. A rough draft was drawn up and members were named; but the scheme was carried no further, and it became absorbed into the wider association then contemplated.

The hope of getting any Government support seeming to me the more forlorn the longer we waited; and having emphatically expressed to Wright my conviction of the uselessness of further delay, we resolved, at once, to begin; and after two or three long conferences, called in to our councils, on my suggestion, Dr. Bromet, who had travelled in France, and obtained insight of various antiquarian societies and their practices;* and from him we expected help in inducing co-operation from antiquaries in France; but I believe that all the important correspondents, such as M. de Gerville and Mr. Lukis, as well as the Societies,

* Dr. Bromet prepared *Suggestions* preliminary to the Canterbury Meeting, embodying a series of archaeological questions to be addressed to the Clergy and Magistrates of the Diocese; but the proposed circular was never printed.

came into union from my own personal connection with them.

Mr. Albert Way (after some scruples on my part, on account of doubting how he would feel as Director of the Society of Antiquaries), was the next elected by us ; and then, rather rapidly, were chosen (chiefly on the proposal of Mr. Way), the members of the Central Committee. With many of them I had no previous acquaintance ; but as I had never felt any difficulty in working with strangers, and even with people divided among themselves, I cheerfully accepted the condition we were in, different as it was from what I had hoped for ; and I even consented to hold the office of Secretary, to which I was elected (in my absence) on the proposal of Mr. Way ; although I had expressed to Wright my determination not to fill that office, the earnest entreaties of Mr. Way prevailed. And so we met and worked together pleasantly and harmoniously. Wright and I managed the chief business in communications and papers, while the whole of the correspondence fell upon me. Scarcely a week passed without Wright being at least one or two evenings at my house engaged with me on the increasing and incessant duties of the growing institution.

We were soon committed to holding a Congress at Canterbury, chosen from its metropolitan importance, as well as from the influence of Lord Albert Conyngham, who then resided at Bourne close by. The organisation and management of the Congress was left to me and Wright, so much so that no opening address having been prepared by the Committee, I had to write and deliver one on my own responsibility. This is not the place for me to relate the incidents of that Congress, interesting as they would be to many ; at present it is enough to say that it was very successful in every way. But to gain

success is one thing; to secure and make it lasting is another. We were soon doomed to be divided (my ink turns pale in recording) into two hostile camps. The history is in print in choice English; but I may be excused in adding a few words on behalf of my friend, now that time must have brought sober reflection to bear upon the cause of the disunion; and has long since reunited, in friendly relations, those who for a few years were separated.

It was my wish that, as soon as possible after the Congress, the Proceedings should be printed. This the Central Committee declined to do; and most unwisely. Had the question been left to me and Wright, a volume, well illustrated, would have been sent to press at once. We were, obviously, closely surrounded with colleagues who were not at all ardent, and who never had heart or earnestness in our cause. They were good men, and mostly eminent in science and literature; but they were not enthusiastic for archæology; and so I was not supported in this as well as in other serious matters. Had I been, I doubt if Mr. Wright would have thought of *The Archæological Album*, the unfortunate *causa belli*. To me, what he was doing never excited alarm. I was cognisant of what he had projected, and assisted him. The first excursion I ever made with Mr. Fairholt was to Silchester, for drawings for *The Album*. I took no very especial interest in the work; but while fancying it might help us, I never, for a moment, imagined it would, in any way, be looked upon as injuring the quarterly "Journal". If Wright were to blame, I must also have incurred a share of it, for want of foresight and suspicion. I was, at least, quite as anxious for the honour and success of the Association, as those who moved and carried the Resolution which Wright considered as degrading and insulting to him. I may observe,

that in entering upon this uncalled-for attack, not one of the majority of the Committee paid the slightest respect to my opinion; not one of them seemed to suppose I had some slight claim to be considered! It is possible that most of them knew nothing even of the recent antecedents I have just briefly divulged!

However, Time has, long since, brought healing in his wings. There are now four Metropolitan Societies, and one in almost every county; and their published volumes count by hundreds. But the preservation of ancient monuments, one of my greatest aspirations, has not been accomplished. The perfect and interesting Roman Villa of Bramdean, illustrated in volume ii, has perished with others; the unique Theatre at Old Verulam has been covered in again; the Roman Villa at Bignor has been saved solely by the patriotism of the tenant, Mr. Tupper; and a long list of other historical remains, left to go to utter ruin, could be added to these. Let us hope that the scope of Sir John Lubbock's Bill will soon be extended to the important omissions.

Wright's physical strength and buoyant spirits helped him to make some long pedestrian excursions; and several of his more popular works are the result of personal observations. When the vast amount of his successful literary labours is considered, as well as the time they consumed in close research and confinement, it is remarkable that he should have been able to accomplish so much in the open field as a relaxation. His assiduity and perseverance were extraordinary. He was seldom in bed after three or four o'clock in the summer, and five or six in the winter; and worked all day with only slight intervals at meals. The *Wanderings of an Antiquary* will show how he turned relaxation to literary profit; *Uriconium* sprang from his excavations at Wroxeter. It was for *The*

Archæological Album he and Fairholt visited Richborough and Reculver. Fairholt, who was not so robust as our friend, used to relate, with the most serious emphasis, the difficulties they experienced in walking from the comforts of Mr. Rolfe's house at Sandwich to Reculver. The road is long, and anything but easy; while heavy rain made it, in parts, laborious. By the time they reached Reculver they were soaked to the skin; and then, as there were no vacant beds at the inn, they had to walk on to Herne Bay, three miles farther; and there to go to bed immediately while their clothes were being dried. "I thought it would have killed me", added Fairholt; "and even now I shudder in thinking of the horrors of that walk! As for Wright, he only laughed, and really seemed to enjoy it."

From the hospitable mansion of our friend Mr. Wace I accompanied him to the excavations at Wroxeter. From my knowledge of the extent of the buried city, I was, from the first, certain that with the resources at command, the excavations must be limited; thousands of pounds were wanted instead of hundreds, which were soon exhausted; and the work was suspended. The generosity of Mr. Mayer propelled it on again; but the task was too herculean; and although an instructive book is one of the results, yet Wright cannot be said to have accomplished more than unlocking the door and showing the character of the important hidden remains.

The *Wanderings of an Antiquary* contains much that is solid and valuable, as, for instance, the account of the iron district of the Forest of Dean, and the Celtic and Roman remains of the Welsh Borders; and nothing but what may be read with pleasure and profit. Wright says, in the Preface, that he wishes he could convey to his readers the additional charm the excursions, of which they are the result, derived from the company of friends

of congenial tastes. Among these were the Rev. L. B. Larking, Lord Albert Conyngham, Mr. Rolfe, Mr. Joseph Clarke, Mr. Fairholt, and myself. Wright's buoyant and even spirits, his extensive knowledge, and unassuming manners, made him an agreeable companion; but few, alas! now survive, who shared in his wanderings. To the site of the Roman potteries on the Medway, he was introduced by me, or, rather, by my old friend Mr. Humphrey Wickham, who procured for us Mr. Hulkes's yacht; and Mr. Henry Coulter as steersman, who, when in after years I came to reside near Strood, proved a constant and valuable friend, whose loss I shall ever lament. Strood was our place of meeting over night. On one occasion, to save the tide, we had to rise about five o'clock on a summer's morning. Jerdan, who was with us, gravely inquired if it would be light? The late Alfred J. Dunkin, on this occasion, sent a half-serious, half-jocular, account of the excursion o one of the Papers, which was copied and recopied in town and country; and, after a long time, came back to us in a French dress, in *Galignani's Messenger*.

The two volumes entitled *Essays on subjects connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages*, dedicated to Hudson Gurney, are attractive in style and full of information, presenting a picture of the manners and spirit of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, their virtues and their vices, not to be easily found elsewhere in so condensed a compass.

In the same class is his *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, in two volumes, addressed to the late Lord Londesborough. They are masterly compositions, disclosing the revolting instruments of ecclesiastical power used, in the middle ages, to crush all who dared to question or oppose the influence of the papal church. But the throne and the bench were equally

cruel with the church. The *History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages*, dedicated to Lady Londesborough, supplied a great want in our popular literature, and the text is rendered more valuable by the charming engravings of Fairholt. "I have always received," says the author, "the warm sympathy and encouragement of the late Lord Londesborough and of your Ladyship. In his Lordship I have lost a respected and valued friend, to whose learned appreciation of the subject of mediæval manners and mediæval art I could always have recourse with trust and satisfaction; with whom I have often conversed on the subjects treated of in the present volume; and whose extensive and invaluable collection of objects of art of the mediæval period, and of that of the renaissance, furnished a never ending source of information and pleasure." *A History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art*, extends from Egyptian, Greek, and Roman times to that of our George III; and this branch of novel and popular literature is supplemented by the *Caricature History of the Georges*. These varied works will give some notion of the extensive information Mr. Wright has given to the world on important subjects, comparatively confined heretofore to the few: to estimate the ability and learning displayed in them they must be read; while the versatility of his genius is shown by *Christianity in Arabia*, written when he was very young. The *Political Songs and Poems relating to English History*, in two volumes; Alexander Necham, *De Naturis Rerum*, and other works published by order of the Government; the *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, composed by him for the Royal Society of Literature; historical works for the Early English Text Society; two volumes of Early Vocabularies, and *Feudal Manuals of English History*, for Mr.

Joseph Mayer; Histories of France, of Ireland, and of Scotland; do not, by any means, exhaust the labours of Thomas Wright. It is rather remarkable that a complete list of his works is only to be found in an American production, *Allibone's Biographical Dictionary*; and as this was published some years before Wright's death, it cannot, of course, be quite perfect.

The translation of the Emperor Napoleon's *Life of Julius Cæsar* was done with great rapidity. It is said that in one day he passed two sheets through the press. It is a valuable work. On the occasion of the Congress of the Archæological Institute at Rochester, I inserted in *The Times* a brief notice, which included mention of Dr. Guest's Paper on the landing of Cæsar, and on the route he subsequently took. This attracted the Emperor's notice; and he immediately sent over his private Secretary, M. Alfred Maury, to procure for him Dr. Guest's opinion and arguments. The Emperor did not follow them, or he would have avoided a serious error from the want of reliable local information. The young Prince, just previous to his ill-advised departure for Zululand, sent Mrs. Wright ten guineas, with a warm expression of sympathy and regret that this sum was as much as he could then afford.

Wright's acquaintance with Mr. James Orchard Halliwell (now Halliwell-Phillipps), commenced in their early days, I believe, at Cambridge. Conjointly they edited the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*; and a new edition of Nares's Glossary; and they co-operated in the Camden, Percy, and other Societies with a steady, unswerving mutual esteem and friendship. When the over-worked mind could no longer guide the pen, and when a reduced income came with bodily afflictions demanding increased comforts and attention, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps was the first to render sub-

stantial and permanent aid ; and that too in a quiet earnest manner, such as seems inseparable from high and noble minds. In those years of decline, came also Dillon Croker to his father's friend and his own, and made himself an almost daily companion. These are, indeed, the true and pure works which alone stand by and never desert us.

Men who have thus devoted a long life towards raising the intellectual and moral standard of society, claim substantial recognition from their country. To Mr. Gladstone, I believe, is due a pension he received, I think, not for many years ; but he had no other resources beyond those of his pen, always fluctuating and precarious ; and a man who thus works is debarred from almost all other advantages. It was not to be wondered at that at his death Mr. Wright left his widow unprovided for. Some of his nearest friends lost no time in making Lord Beaconsfield acquainted with her case, rendered the more afflicting from a deprivation of eye-sight for all practical purposes. They addressed him from the grave ; but a deaf ear was turned to the memorial ; and Thomas Wright has now been dead two years and a half. A representation has just been made to Mr. Gladstone, it is hoped with better effect. To Mr. E. W. Brabrook and Mr. Dillon Croker, the friends of Thomas Wright are deeply indebted for their exertions for his widow ; and especially so to Mr. Croker for kindly receiving and administering the funds collected from the Literary Fund, and from subscriptions to purchase the marble bust of Wright, executed by the late Joseph Durham. The place of its final deposit is not yet settled. The Grammar School at Ludlow is, with reason, advocated by some ; by others, the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was so long an ornament, without being either the President or Vice-President.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

No one, in the present century, has done more to popularise archæology than Mr. Akerman. That important branch of the science, numismatics, he advanced by communications to *The Gentleman's Magazine* of rare and unpublished Greek coins; by a *Descriptive Catalogue of Rare and Unedited Roman Coins*; a *Numismatic Manual*; *Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*; Papers on British Coins in the *Numismatic Journal*; *Numismatic Chronicle*; *Archæologia*, etc.; and he may be called the founder of the Numismatic Society of London, than which no Society has better fulfilled its promises, or maintained itself in the high position it rapidly won. For practical antiquarian research we have but to look at his Papers in the *Archæologia*; *Pagan Saxondom*; and the *Archæological Index*, to see how ardently he worked, not only when in the strength of youth and manhood, but when ill health had prostrated his physical power. He was early in life excavating the Saxon tumuli on the downs of Kent, with Lord Albert Conyngham; and, long after his retirement from London, with bodily infirmities, he prosecuted his researches in Wiltshire and Bedfordshire.

Born and brought up, in Wiltshire, among farms and farmers, Mr. Akerman, during his long London life, never forgot the scenes of his youth; and thus he was never more happy than when he was opening barrows; or staying with friends who could help him to an amusement he was passionately fond of, fly-fishing. He wrote a little volume on this sport, called *Spring-Tide, or The Angler and his Friends*. It is somewhat in the style of Isaac Walton, readable, and instructive beyond the scope of its title. It is dedicated to Mr. John Hughes, "the preserver and re-

storer of *Ould Grumbleton*,* a song, which, by what may be termed a curious coincidence, I am applied for by a musical friend, while penning this brief memoir. It is matched in force and humour by "The Hornet and the Bittle", in his *Wiltshire Tales*, published first in *Bentley's Miscellany*, and afterwards separately. In these Tales Mr. Akerman has preserved much of rural manners and customs, as well as examples of the dialect of North Wiltshire and parts of neighbouring counties. This he was especially qualified for; and therefore his *Glossary of Words and Phrases in use in Wiltshire* is a valuable compilation. He has steered clear of encumbering the list with mere corruptions and vulgarisms which afford no philological information. The Glossary gives a clue to the birthplace of the author, as he states that he intends the profits which may accrue from its publication should go to a fund for building a school-house for the children of labouring persons, in the parish of Broad Blunsdon, in Wiltshire; and our mutual friend Mr. W. M. Wylie tells me that when he paid him a visit at Fairford, he was staying with a kinsman, a yeoman, at Broad Blunsdon. Thus difficult is it to recover incidents in early life, which have not been recorded by those alone who knew them.

Mr. Akerman was for some time, but how long I know not, acting as Secretary to the celebrated William Cobbett, of whom in the Glossary under the word "Leasing", he tells an anecdote, probably narrated by Cobbett himself. When I first knew him he was Secretary to the London and Greenwich Railway Company. When he became a candidate for the office of Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of London, Thomas Wright, who also, with

* It seems to be founded on the old Scotch ballad, "The Wife of Auchtermuchty"; but, from the wording of Mr. Akerman, he considered it of South Western origin.

strong influence, had the appointment in view, very generously gave way to him. As Secretary to the Society Mr. Akerman was diligent and courteous; and, therefore, esteemed. With a true regard for the honour and utility of the Society, and a respect for its traditions, he looked more to the spirit than to the letter of its Rules. With the cessation of his tenure of office, ended my use of the library. The last time I saw him was at Canterbury, at his relative's, Mr. J. B. Sheppard, on my return from the meeting of the Kent Archæological Society at Sandwich. He was then infirm, but mentally bright, and looking as well and as handsome as ever, and as fond of a joke. I was speaking of the Dean's kind attention to the Abbé Haighneré of Boulogne who attended the meeting; Akerman very drily remarked: "Then Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other". There is a good likeness of him in *Spring-Tide*. Mr. A. J. Stothard commenced engraving a die for a medal; but the obverse only was finished.

JAMES ROBINSON PLANCHÉ.

Mr. Planché fortunately did for himself what nobody could have done for him. He published his own biography.* It is not to be expected that the world will, or can, do for people what they do not care to do for themselves. An eminent man's autobiography may contain much that seems trivial; but that is just what is relished; for it makes the elevated person akin to all, and gives to all a hope of rising to a grade nearer his standard. An autobiography, moreover, is free from the frequent blunders and errors which so often deform what are called "Lives" and "Sketches of Lives", compiled without due

* *Recollections and Reflections of J. R. Planché*, Somerset Herald, 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1872.

research or precaution; and people ever like to hear as much as possible of those whom they admire, especially when it is told by the men themselves.

Mr. Planché has won for himself an imperishable reputation in very different fields. As a Poet, his "Legends" of the Rhine and of the Danube; operatic and dramatic metrical compositions; separate songs and poems; place him in the highest rank. As a historian, and heraldic antiquary, numerous Papers in the *Archæologia*; *Journal of the British Archæological Association*; topographical and purely historical works; the *History of British Costume*; and *The Cyclopædia of Costume*, secure for him lasting fame. As a Dramatist he must rank the first of the age; and, in some respect, the first of all ages; for the Extravanzas, as they are called, for want of a more fitting name, are peculiarly his own. In these he stands alone; and probably ever will, like Barham in his *Ingoldsby Legends*. Mr. Planché, in his modesty and truthfulness, tells how the first of these (which, when I was a schoolboy, won my youthful fancy), was suggested by something anterior. So were most of Shakespeare's plays; and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to point to a perfectly pure invention in anything; but these so-called Extravanzas are so immeasurably beyond what preceded them on the stage, that they may be well called an invention or creation, never, probably, to be equalled.

The publication of them was the literary event of the last year. Mr. Planché, when first moved to consent, doubted the possibility; but difficulties were surmounted, and the Forty-four Extravanzas were printed by subscription as a Testimonial to the Author, under the editorship of his friends Dillon Croker and Stephen Tucker, Mr. Planché himself adding the history of each, with remarks on the state of the stage, and on the actors and

actresses connected with himself and the Extravaganzas. The list of Subscribers to this Testimonial will be a subject of curious reflection, from the names which appear and the names which are absent. I am not aware of any similar compliment paid to a dramatic writer. The *Life of O'Keefe* was published by subscription; not as a Testimonial. One cannot help pausing to admire the warm-hearted generosity of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the Fourth, on that occasion;* the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Kent, were also subscribers.

Founded on Fairy Tales, on Classic Myths, and Legends, these exquisite dramas are invested with the reality of human life in its various phases. We forget we are in a world of imaginary beings, for they have the passions, the virtues, and the vices of people of this world, and we recognise them as such. But it is not alone the truth with which the characters are drawn, the vast amount of wit and humour sparkling in every line, and the charming poetical metre, which hold such sway over us; there is also a scourge for the bad; satire and ridicule for the frivolities, the meannesses and shams of society; a moral to every scene; instruction unlooked for, and therefore the more impressive. But with all the advantages of costly scenery, good acting, and good singing, indispensable for

* "Lieut. Col. McMahon presents his compliments to Mr. O'Keefe, and has it in command from the Prince of Wales to express His Royal Highness's admiration of Mr. O'Keefe's dramatic works, to the publication of which His Royal Highness has been pleased most graciously to direct his name to be affixed. The Prince of Wales requests Mr. O'Keefe's acceptance of fifty guineas, which Col. McMahon has left at the bar of the 'Cocoa-tree' Club, in Pall Mall, and which will be paid instantly to Mr. O'Keefe's order. Carlton House, Dec. 11th, 1797."—*Recollections of the Life of John O'Keefe*, vol. ii, chap. viii.

their proper representation upon the stage, the Extravanzas must be read to be thoroughly understood and appreciated; and in both cases they require a considerable amount of education. Mr. Planché never condescended to write down to a low level of understanding, or for vulgar tastes. I had enjoyed *Fortunio*, *Beauty and the Beast*, *Jason and Medea*, *The Seven Champions of Christendom*, and others; but it was not until I had the opportunity of reading them that I discovered their exuberance of wit and humour; and it was then only that I became acquainted intimately with the genius of Planché.

I was associated with him in the early days of the British Archæological Association, in the Secretariat of which we were joined for awhile; and I could esteem him as an accomplished, learned, and amiable man; and he won my heart when I heard of his devotion to an afflicted wife; but we were to be separated; and it was long after, in the retirement of Strood, that I became introduced to the soul and spirit of the man; and I sighed for the days that were gone.

Mr. Planché shared the lot of many in not being adequately remunerated. An unselfish and liberal nature partly contributed to this. His earliest production, *Amoroso*, raised the decayed fortunes of Drury Lane; but the Management would not allow him to share the heavy receipts: there was no legal engagement. *King Charming* "sold in America by thousands", remarked Mr. French; "not one penny of which ever reached me", quietly observed Planché.

That Planché is not understood by the many, nor fully by the general press, is nothing extraordinary. It is so with Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and many others; but it is simply absurd to hear some people talk of the age requiring something more robust; and that the taste of the

present generation tends in other directions, etc. This means nothing more than that it does not suit managers to produce the works of Planché! The requisites above-mentioned are costly and not easily attainable. If they could be procured, there are education and taste sufficient to make the Extravaganzas as popular as ever.

Mr. Planché's entire dramatic productions amount to 176, every one of which was a success. A friend of mine who has produced many of his plays in the provinces, remarked to me that it was quite enough for him to see the name of Planché as author, to ensure a hearty reception for any play. It would answer the purpose of any spirited publisher to collect and give to the world the entire dramatic works, printed to match with the recently published Extravaganzas.

The funeral of Mr. Planché, on the 4th of June, brought together at the Brompton Cemetery the chief of the literary and dramatic circles, and a large concourse of gentry and nobility. It is said that a public monument is to be erected to his memory. He is worthy of statues and medals; but his noblest monument, and one which, happily, he lived to see and appreciate, is the printed and published EXTRAVAGANZAS.

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- RECULVER. Page 163, line four from the bottom ; for *outward*, read *inside*.
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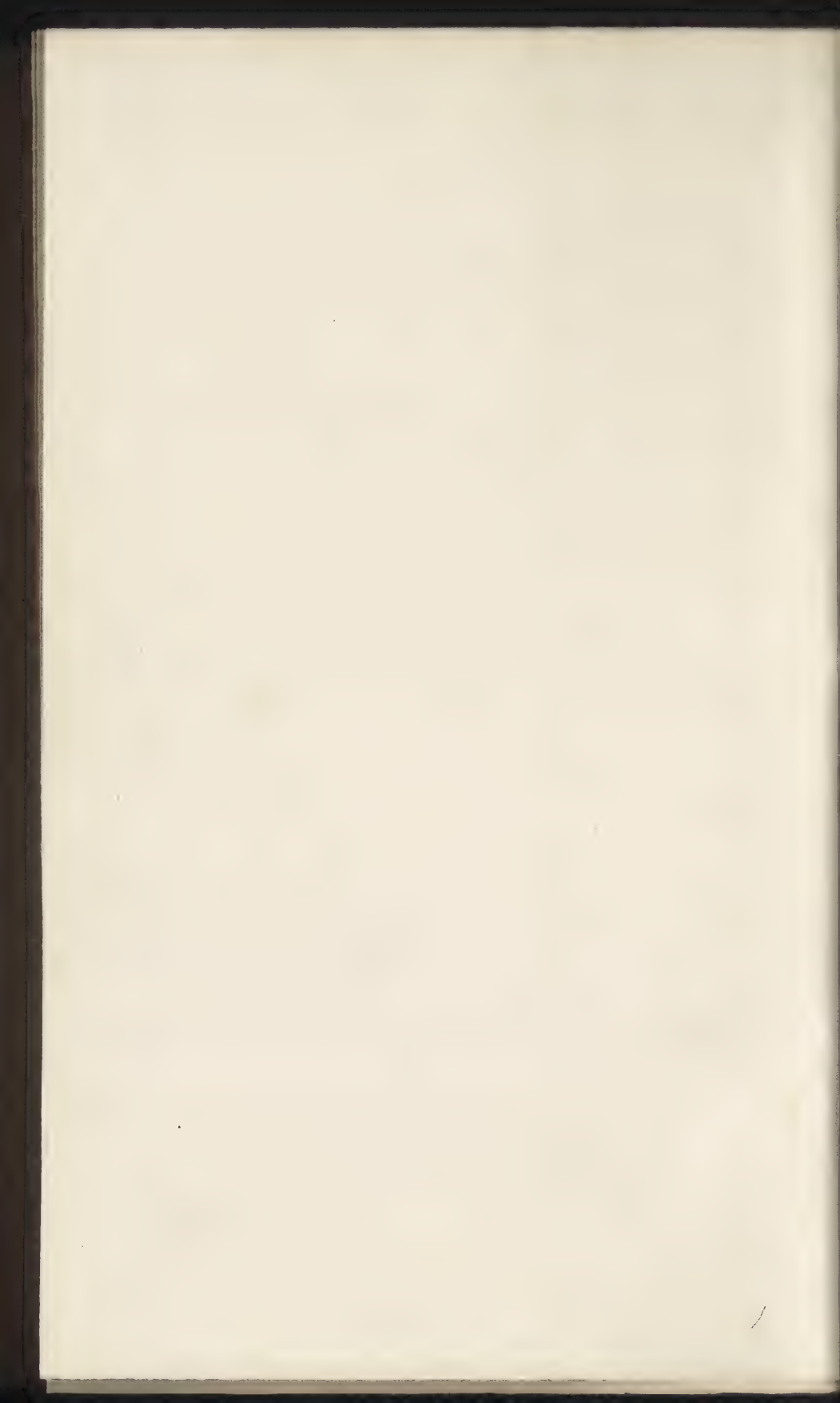
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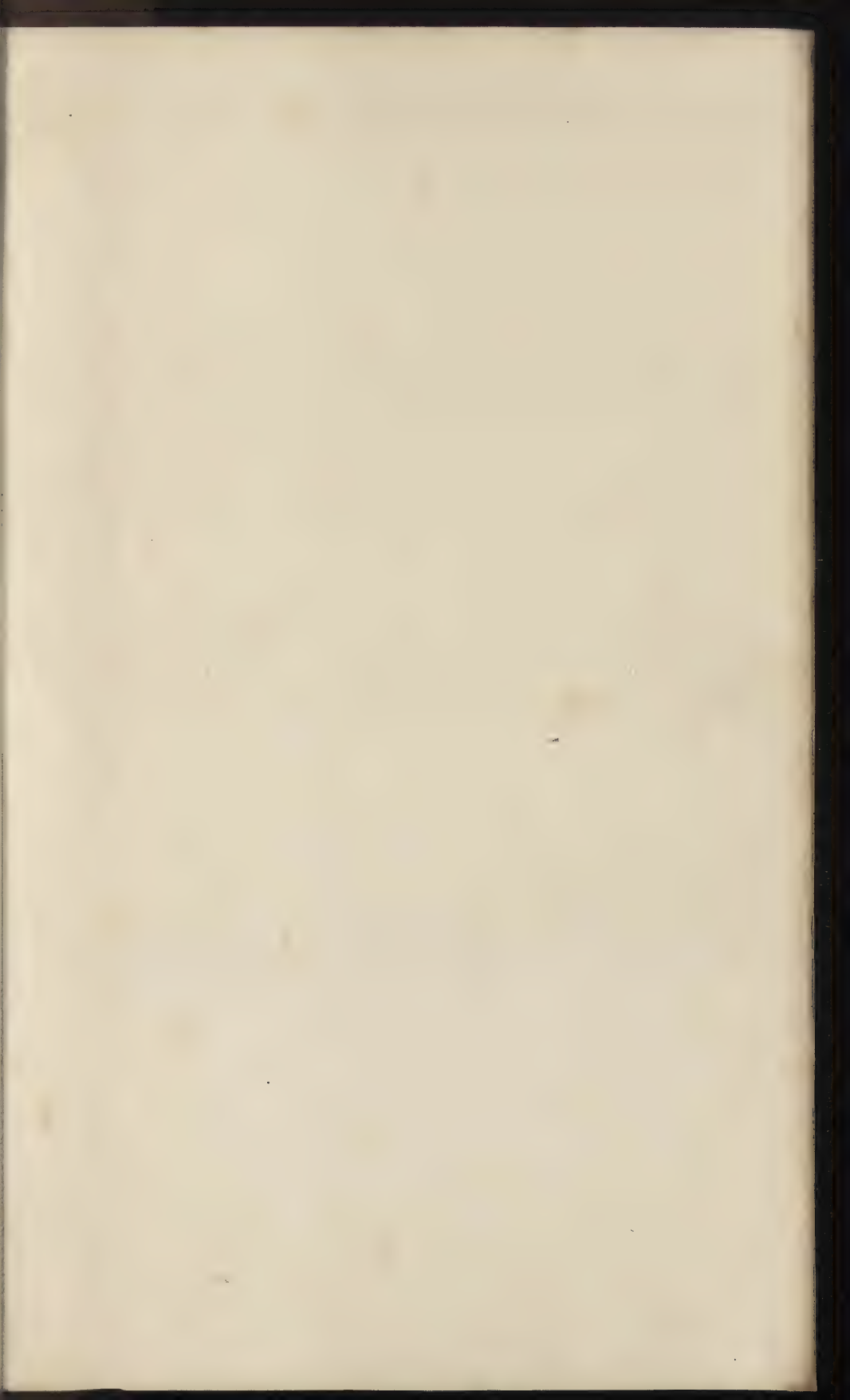
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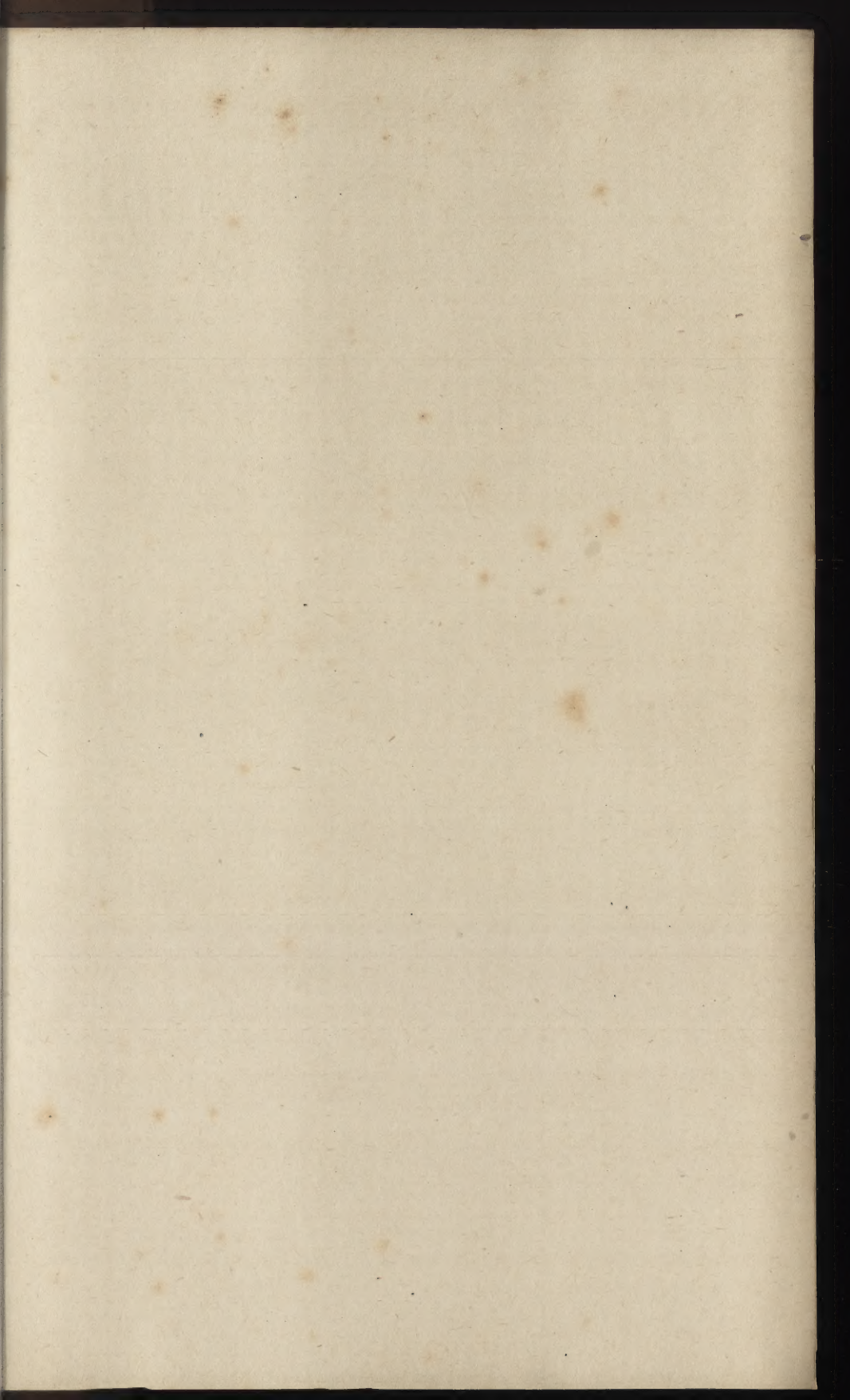
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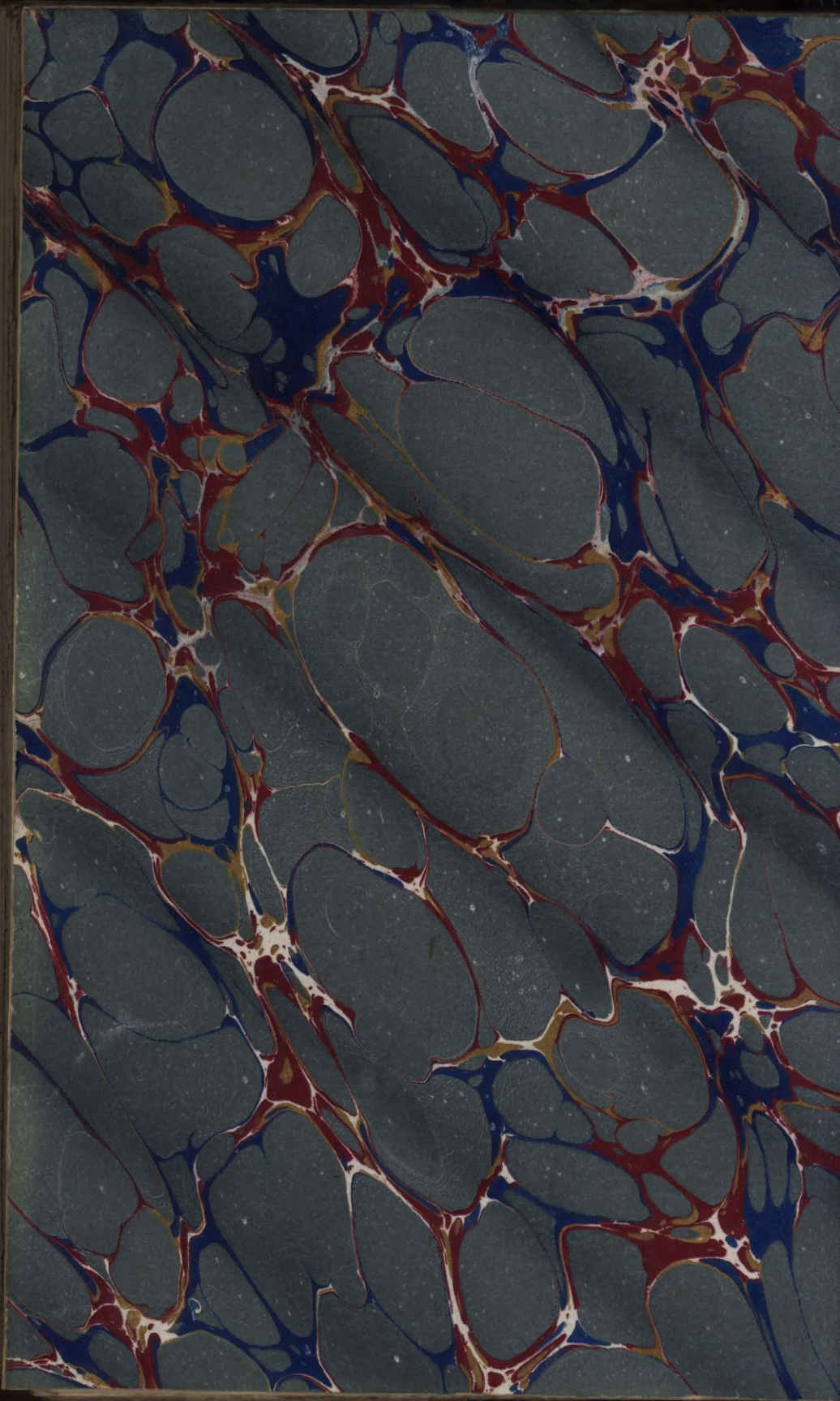
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